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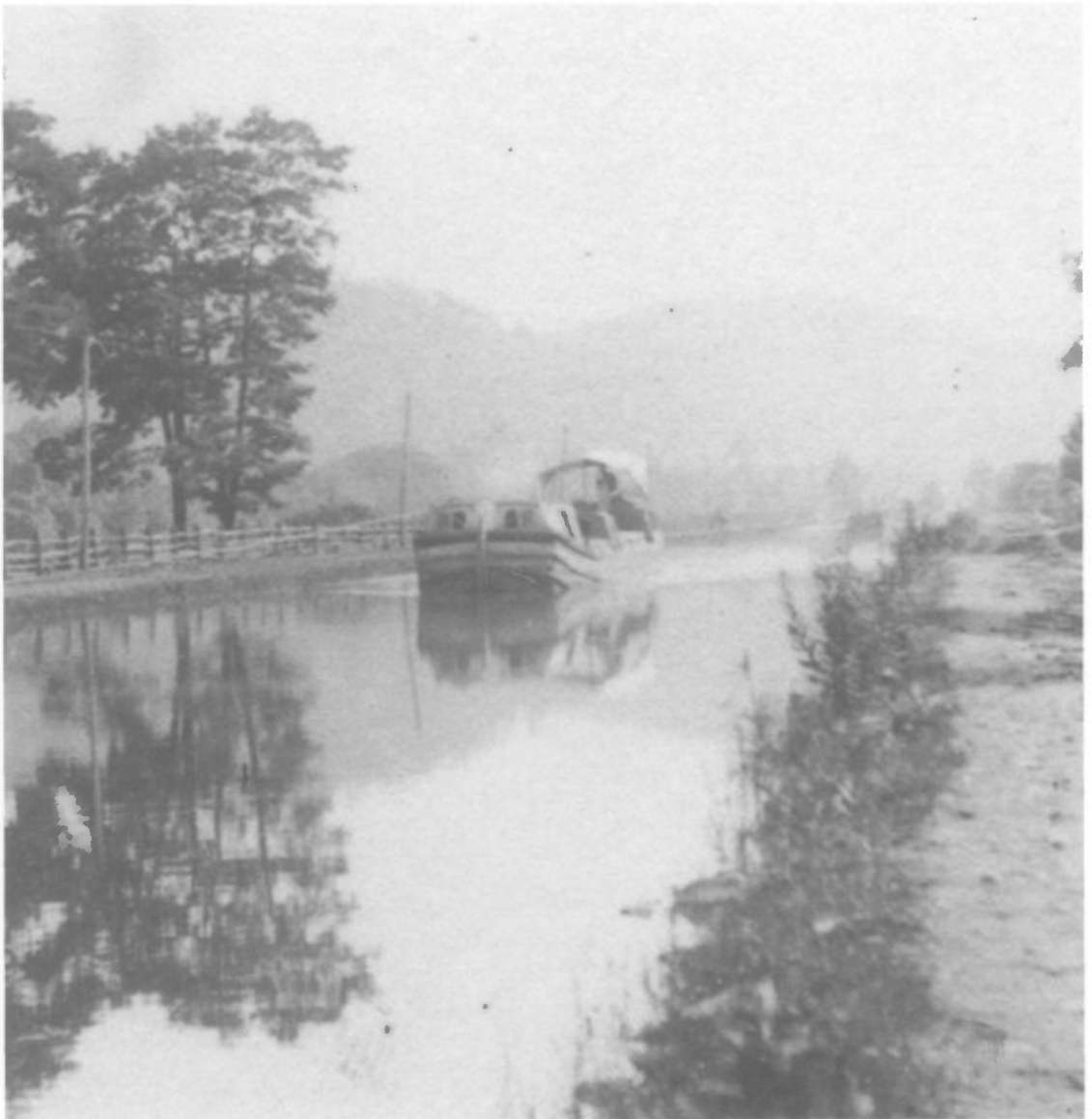
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MARYLAND

Historical Magazine



THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1844

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The Maryland Historical Magazine

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Name that Tune

It has been a lively winter. First Lerone Bennett breathlessly disclosed in *Forced Into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream* what presumably no one save those with a high school education knew before—that the Emancipation Proclamation technically did not free a single slave. The rejoinders had barely trickled in when a teenager in Montgomery County discovered the shocking lyrics of *Maryland, My Maryland*, the state song, and quickly notified his delegate, who, appropriately and energetically concerned, introduced a bill to repeal. Is it possible, a colleague sensibly asked, to repeal published lyrics? Never mind. Staff members fanned out to test the intellectual climate and the public pulse. Television and radio reporters, sensing lively air time, hunted down local historians for their opinions. What did the song really mean? It was Confederate wasn't it? And does a Confederate song represent the whole state? Doesn't it condone slavery? The issue soon reached full blow. Michael Olesker, the *Baltimore Sun's* reflective and warm-hearted local columnist, suggested we not only find a new state song more “in tune” with the times, which he then kindly provided (it's not bad), he also urged removal of the statue of Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney—he of the lamentable Dred Scott decision—from the state house lawn.

Thus did Maryland join a sectional, perhaps national, movement to repudiate all things Confederate, prompting this question: Why can't we live with our history? Will changing a song or removing a statue assuage a collective guilt? Let us remove all trace of these offenses, we tell ourselves, and maybe they will go away. Perhaps that is the twenty-first-century American way of dealing with history. Rather than learn it (and from it), we will change its clothes. By banishing it from our sight, we will prove our moral superiority (our mental superiority is assumed) over those wayward souls who inhabited the past.

The trouble is that in our rush to cleanse the national shirtfront we tend to scrub away too much. The Civil War was indeed about slavery, though not racial equality, as some lately would have it. Its beginnings were rooted not in nobility and evil but in mutual fear: northern fear that the slave power would control the nation's future; southern fear that they would be isolated and rendered powerless in a nation turning against them. *Maryland, My Maryland* itself is not at all about slavery. Rather, it embodies fear of a different sort, and defiance. The fear was real. Troops not from Maryland shot citizens in the streets, seized the railroads and telegraph, trained cannon on the Washington Monument—about a block from this office—and said this is the way it's going to be.

“We shall make very short work of Maryland,” growled the *New York Times* in April 1861. “We can . . . crush any resistance she can put forth. We . . . hold the fort that commands her great city. She will soon be in a dilemma in which sub-

mission will be the only alternative to disastrous defeat.” Emotions boiled so high that no one and no institution was safe. “The President runs no small risk of being superceded in his office, if he undertakes to thwart the clear and manifest determination of the people to maintain the authority of the Government,” the *Times* warned. “. . . It would be well for Mr. Lincoln to bear in mind the possibility of such an event.”

Alarmed and angry though it was, the *Times* was behind the curve. Lincoln, fearing that secession would engulf the nation’s capital, was taking no chances with Maryland. His military commander, General Winfield Scott, informed General Benjamin Butler—who had just landed his Massachusetts regiment in Annapolis, and who regarded Marylanders as “malignant and traitorous”—what to do with the Maryland legislature, about to meet in that city. “Watch and await their action,” Lincoln and Scott told Butler, and if the delegates attempt secession “adopt the most prompt and efficient means to counteract, even if necessary to the bombardment of their cities, and in the extremest necessity suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.”

Pretty strong stuff, this, and it spawned equally strong reactions. “The despot’s heel is on thy shore, Maryland!” cried an outraged Baltimore schoolteacher who had lost a friend in the riot of April 19. By that time more than ten thousand heels were on Maryland’s shore, armed and instructed to “repel force by force, as in war.” They had seized Annapolis and were laying plans for a four-pronged attack on Baltimore. “Thou wilt not cower in the dust, Maryland,” piped the schoolteacher. “Thy beaming sword shall never rust. . . .”

Perhaps we do need a new song, something bland and calculatedly inoffensive to suit a sensitive age. We are a republic; state songs, flags, and symbols are all replaceable as we see fit.

History on the other hand cannot be changed, and we cleanse it at our peril.

Cover

Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, c.1900

The canal’s 184-mile towpath follows the route of the Potomac River from Washington D.C. to Cumberland, Maryland. The canal operated from 1828 until 1924, when multiple natural and financial disasters—floods, financial panics, and the unexpected success of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—forced its closure. The National Park Service acquired the canal in 1938 and, in a designation that will save it from urban sprawl and highway development, the site became the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park in 1971. (Maryland Historical Society.)



An image purported to be that of Mary K. Goddard (1736–1816). Goddard lost her job in the chaotic political world of the early republic. Her fourteen-year tenure as Baltimore's deputy postmaster ended abruptly in November 1789 despite the objections of Baltimore's merchants. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Mary K. Goddard: A Classical Republican in a Revolutionary Age

CHRISTOPHER J. YOUNG

Late in December 1789, President George Washington opened a letter from a newly displaced officeholder stung with disappointment. Mary Goddard, formerly deputy postmaster of Baltimore, laid before the president the record of her service to her country and complained that she had been unjustly dismissed from her office.¹ She was especially angry at the manner of that dismissal, having been treated, she explained, “in the Stile of an unfriendly delinquent, unworthy of common Civility, as well as common Justice.”² She had expected more from the new republic, believing that her activities on its behalf during the revolutionary struggle should have been respected. In the first months of government under the new Constitution, appointments had to be made, and, as Baltimore was quickly growing into an important commercial center, the postmastership there was an increasingly attractive position. It was, she thought, a position she had earned. The immediate reason offered for her dismissal was that a woman would be unable to endure the traveling that the office now required. While plausible enough, it is more likely that at issue was not so much her gender as her political utility. Mary Goddard certainly believed the latter to be the case.

Goddard’s position in public life, and her role in the community, was to disseminate information into a public sphere that engaged both men and women in civil society.³ As a printer she had issued broadsides alerting the Baltimore public to momentous events, such as the Battle of Lexington, and she had had the honor of being the first to print an official copy of the Declaration of Independence with the signers’ names included.⁴ As a postmaster during the war, she had kept information flowing by dispatching post riders, often at her own expense. Goddard interpreted her sacrifice, and her instrumentality in the information exchange of the revolutionary republic, as serving a civic function. She viewed herself as a public officer and understood her world in terms of duty and self-sacrifice—a worldview characterized by historians as classical republicanism.⁵

This female civil officer has received little attention from historians of women, the American Revolution, or of the early American republic.⁶ Goddard has fallen between the cracks in part because of the intellectual paradigm that has guided an understanding of the role of women in early America. However much women contributed to revolutionary activities or to politics, historians have tended to see

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IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN, in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's GOD entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the Causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that Governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experiences have shown, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former System of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, we follow the train of his Measures.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.
He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless by his assent, and when he refused to assent to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Attenuation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inalienable to them, and inseparable to Freemen only.
He has refused to assent to Laws by which the Judiciary would be kept from the Office of their public Business, and to provide new Guards for their future Security.

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He has refused to assent to Laws by which the Judiciary would be kept from the Office of their public Business, and to provide new Guards for their future Security.

and unacknowledged by our Laws, giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation.

For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us;
For compelling them, by a mock Trial, from Parliament for any Murders which they should commit in the Labours of their Souls.

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World;
For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent.

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury;
For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences;

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to make it as much a part of the Kingdom of Great-Britain, as the Kingdom of Great-Britain itself.

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to assume us in all Cases whatsoever.

For having declared us out of his Protection, and waging War against us.

For having plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

For, at this time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with Circumstances of Cruelty and Protrity, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

For having constrained our Fellow Citizens, to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brothers, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has incited domestic Insurrection amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of one Province, the terrible Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions.

In every Stage of this Oppression we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Now have we no choice but to assert our inalienable and unalienable Rights. We have waited long, from Time to Time, of Addressing by their Legislature to request an interposition in our behalf. We have remonstrated with the Commandants of our Forts and Garrisons, and we have petitioned them. We have petitioned them by the most humble and respectful Terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the said Crown, is and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock.

MASSACHUSETTS { John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry.	MASSACHUSETTS { John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry.
NEW-YORK { Wm. Floyd, Philip Livingston, James Lovell, Lewis Morris.	NEW-YORK { Wm. Floyd, Philip Livingston, James Lovell, Lewis Morris.
NEW-JERSEY { Ralph Ingham, Thos. Hartshorn, Thos. Botsford, John Allen, John Carter.	NEW-JERSEY { Ralph Ingham, Thos. Hartshorn, Thos. Botsford, John Allen, John Carter.
NEW-HAMPSHIRE { Nathl. Bowdoin, Wm. Briggs, Matthew Thornton.	NEW-HAMPSHIRE { Nathl. Bowdoin, Wm. Briggs, Matthew Thornton.
VERMONT { Gary White, Richard Henry Lee, Thos. Nelson, Benj. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Caleb Buxton.	VERMONT { Gary White, Richard Henry Lee, Thos. Nelson, Benj. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Caleb Buxton.
PENNSYLVANIA { Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Anthony Swartz, Thos. Mifflin, Geo. Clymer, Thos. Smith, Geo. Taylor, Thos. Willing, Geo. Rife.	PENNSYLVANIA { Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Anthony Swartz, Thos. Mifflin, Geo. Clymer, Thos. Smith, Geo. Taylor, Thos. Willing, Geo. Rife.
DELAWARE { Caesar Rodney, Geo. Read.	DELAWARE { Caesar Rodney, Geo. Read.
MARYLAND { Daniel Clark, Wm. Paca, Thos. Lee, Charles Carroll, of Car- rollton.	MARYLAND { Daniel Clark, Wm. Paca, Thos. Lee, Charles Carroll, of Car- rollton.
SOUTH-CAROLINA { Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, junr., Thomas Lynch, junr., James Moultrie.	SOUTH-CAROLINA { Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, junr., Thomas Lynch, junr., James Moultrie.
NORTH-CAROLINA { Wm. Hooper, Thos. Manteo, John Paul.	NORTH-CAROLINA { Wm. Hooper, Thos. Manteo, John Paul.

IN CONGRESS, JANUARY 18, 1777

ORDERED, That an authenticated Copy of the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCY, with the Names of the MEMBERS of CONGRESS, subscribing the same, be sent to each of the UNITED STATES, and that they be directed to have the same put on RECORD.

By Order of CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

their chief contribution—their republican virtue—as springing from their roles as companions, wives, and mothers.⁷ But Goddard imagined herself in a different—political—world, displaying a type of classical republican virtue historically identified as masculine. In the post-revolutionary period of state-building, we have tended to think female public spirit manifested itself when women promoted patriotism from the private realm of home and family. Goddard defined her public spirit in terms of sacrifice and work on behalf of the revolutionary republic. She had neither a husband nor a child to inspire to republican greatness, and she did not see herself as the maternal and feminine source of patriotism and public morality. Rather, she saw herself as a patriot whose virtue emanated from commitment to the American cause.⁸ She expected to be rewarded with a continued appointment to her public office.

That a female public officer did not warrant special attention in the late eighteenth century is certainly reason for her case to merit our attention. The fact that she was a woman in a predominately male arena did not seem to concern Goddard, nor did it trouble the hundreds of male supporters who considered her a fellow citizen. When she responded to her dismissal as deputy postmaster of Baltimore, she used language rich in republicanism that emphasized the duty, patriotism, and sacrifice traditionally required of male citizens. In taking her case to President Washington and to Congress, she presented herself as a virtuous republican citizen, not as a virtuous republican woman.⁹ In the end, despite her eloquent appeal and the support of hundreds of Baltimore merchants, Mary Goddard failed to regain her position as deputy postmaster of Baltimore. She may also have fallen victim to another emerging trend—the politics of patronage.

MARY GODDARD'S BATTLE TO RECLAIM her official post began on a fall day in 1789 when John White of Annapolis arrived at her office and handed her a note informing her that she had been discharged from her duties and that he was there to replace her.¹⁰ Before White arrived in Baltimore, he had been to New York City—the national capital in 1789. There he hoped to resolve a matter involving payments owed to him by the government for earlier services rendered. He then sought an appointment as marshal for the district of Maryland. White had previously been a colleague of Assistant Postmaster General Jonathan Burrall. In fact, Postmaster General Samuel Osgood and his assistant each had written a letter of recommendation for White in the mid-1780s in order to help him find public employment. Early in October 1789, Osgood had sent Burrall “immediately to the southward” for the sole purpose of examining “into the Character of the Deputies, and to reappoint such as have behaved well and [can] give good security to discharge faithfully the Trust” and to “displace such as have not, and to appoint others

Opposite: Mary Goddard printed an official copy of the Declaration of Independence, the first that included the signers' names. (Maryland Historical Society.)

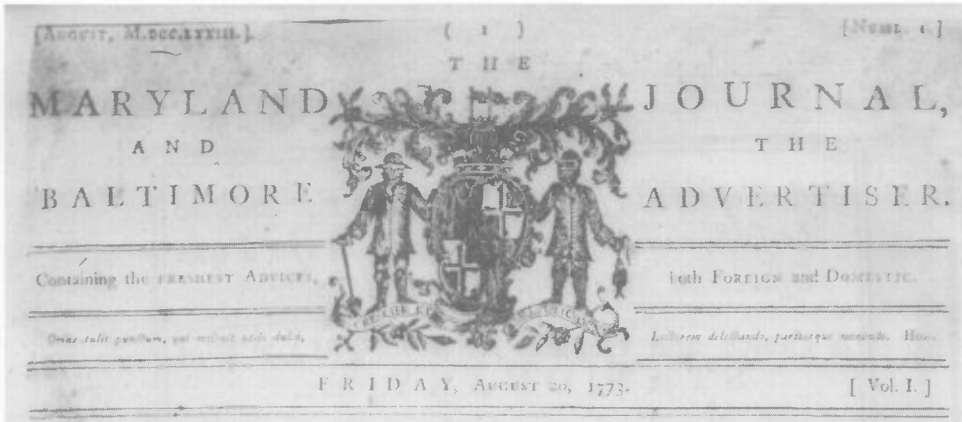
in their places.” Although White was not appointed to the position he had hoped for, he left New York with the papers establishing him as postmaster of Baltimore. Undoubtedly his relationship with Burrall and Osgood proved pivotal.¹¹

Goddard and John White were acquainted with one another, but she did not at first know that he was there to relieve her as postmaster of Baltimore. Not long after her dismissal, a supporter writing to a friend in Philadelphia suggested that when White visited Goddard he was really “supplanting her in a secret, underhand manner” all the while presenting himself in the “garb of friendship.”¹² As White left her office that day, Goddard no doubt fretted about her future. She now faced not only a monetary crisis but as well the intense disappointment brought on by the unexpected and sudden dismissal from a job to which she had given the “best years of her Life.”¹³ As Goddard later told the Senate, her dismissal was “a circumstance, pregnant with that Species of aggravation, which a Sense of Ingratitude inspires & which is much easier felt than described.”¹⁴

Fourteen years earlier, in 1775, Mary Goddard had been appointed deputy postmaster of Baltimore by then-Postmaster General Benjamin Franklin. She remained in that position until November 1789, when Osgood discharged her from her postal duties. Five years before, in 1784, Goddard had lost another source of income when she relinquished control of the *Maryland Journal*, a newspaper she had managed for her brother William since 1774. She did retain ownership of a dry goods store and continued her bookbinding service.¹⁵

Born in 1738 to affluent Connecticut parents, Mary Goddard and her younger brother William grew up in the household of a postmaster and a printer. Their physician father, Giles Goddard, served as postmaster in New London, Connecticut, and their mother, Sarah Updike Goddard, enjoyed an extraordinary education for an eighteenth-century woman. During the last eight years of her life she also engaged in the printing business. William became postmaster of Providence, Rhode Island, in the 1760s, and Sarah took the reins of the post office when her son was away from home.¹⁶

Sarah Goddard gave her daughter a complete education that later distinguished Mary from women of all social classes in eighteenth-century Baltimore.¹⁷ In the early 1760s, Goddard’s mother made the initial investment in William’s printing adventures. With her mother, Mary helped run the printing business when William was in town and directed the shop while he was away engaging in other business ventures. This pattern of assisting her brother in running printing shops took Mary to Providence (*Providence Gazette*), Philadelphia (*Pennsylvania Chronicle*), and finally to Baltimore (*Maryland Journal*). By 1775, the year Mary Goddard was appointed postmaster of Baltimore and had her management of the *Maryland Journal* publicly recognized, she had been in and around the printing and post office business for thirteen years. She published the *Maryland Journal* throughout the War for Independence, and between mid-1779 and mid-1783 hers



First edition of the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, founded by Mary's brother William Goddard in 1773 and managed by Mary from 1775 until 1785. (Maryland Historical Society.)

was the only newspaper in Baltimore. There is no question that Mary Goddard served her country well in the capacity of postmaster throughout the trying times of the Revolution and the uncertainty of the Confederation period.¹⁸

The news of Goddard's dismissal from her postal duties spread quickly and troubled the citizens of Baltimore. According to one person in the port city, Goddard's removal "excited the surprise and indignation of the whole community." Not long afterward the merchants and "respectable inhabitants" of Baltimore presented an address to Postmaster General Samuel Osgood and his assistant, Jonathan Burrall. A committee of merchants then confronted Burrall and requested that Goddard be retained as postmaster, as the public would not benefit by her removal. Burrall promised to consider their request and to inform them of his decision, but instead of confronting the committee directly, Burrall, "like an experienced General treating with an enemy, thought proper to disappear, leaving for answer, that he could not comply with their request." Burrall avoided Goddard during his three-day stay in town.¹⁹

Rumors may well have circulated around Baltimore that new federal officers would be appointed after the recently ratified Constitution went into effect, for after her dismissal, Goddard's supporters worried that they had failed her by not informing the postmaster general soon enough of "her merits." Some of the town's leading citizens informed Osgood that they would not have delayed their application had they not "supposed that the laudable example of our illustrious President would have been followed, by continuing the deserving in such Offices, as they held previous to the adoption of the new Constitution." They requested, as a favor, that he "reconsider the matter, & restore her to her former appointment." Their letter ends with the wish that she be permitted to continue "no longer in Office

Just imported from EUROPE, and to be sold, wholesale and retail, at the Post-Office, in Market-street, Baltimore.

A choice and elegant ASSORTMENT of
STATIONARY, viz.

MAPS, Charts, Pictures, Mathematical Instruments, Jewelry, plated Ware, Cutlery, Printing Types, with Books of Law, Physic, and Divinity. History School Books, and many others too tedious for a more particular description herein. Patent Medicine, &c. &c.

STATIONARY.

Folio, Quarto, Post, Printing, and Wrapping Paper. Gilt and plain Ledgers. Journals, Letter, Invoice, Waste, Receipt, and Memorandum Books; Ladies and Gentlemens elegant Morocco Leather Pocket Books, with and without Instruments; Ink Chests and Pots; Pencils; Money Scales; Quills; Ink-Powder; Playing and Message Cards; Sealing Wax, Wafers, &c. &c. with Asses Skin Tablets for Memorandums.

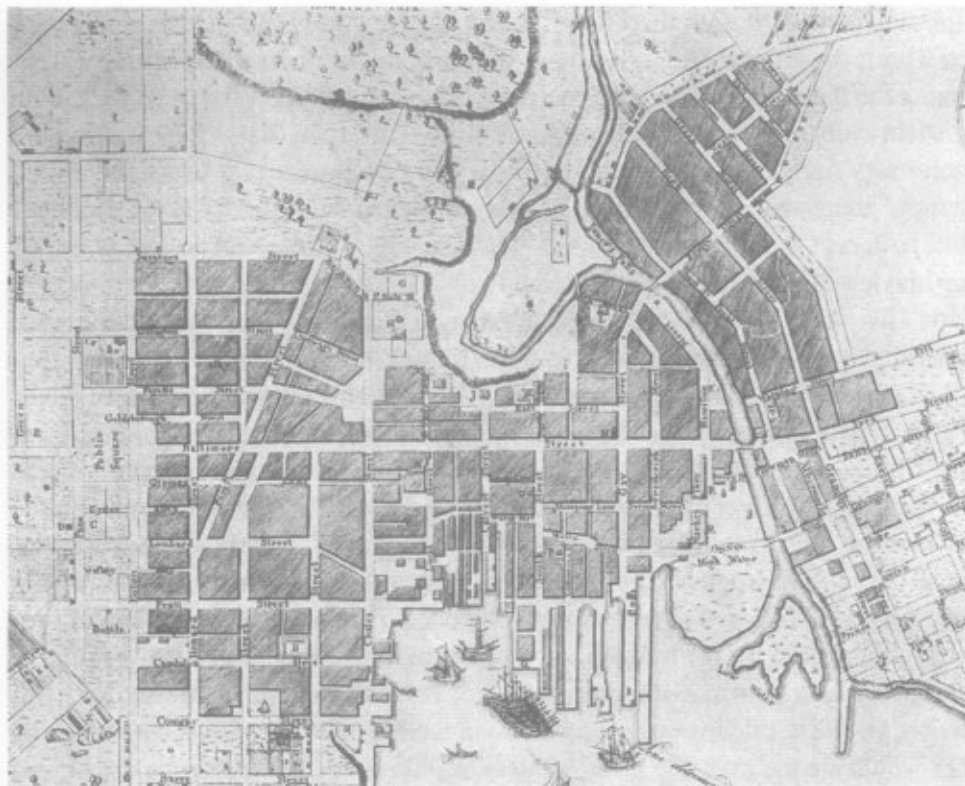
MAPS AND CHARTS.

Maps of North Carolina, &c. new variation, Mercator, large and middle Channel Charts, ditto of the Mediterranean, St. George's Channel, Bay of Biscay, Bristol Channel, ditto of England, Spain and Portugal, Dublin Bay, Musquito Shore, Windward Passage, &c. &c.

MATHEMATICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Black Ebony Hadley's Quadrants, Ditto with spotted Wood, ditto with Brass; single Observation, Drawing Telescopes, Gunter's Scales, Brass Compasses, Carpenters Rules, &c. &c.

ALSO, Looking Glasses, Paste Buckles, Buttons, Broaches, Hair Pins, Locketts, Ear-rings, plain and sett Gold Rings; plated Candlesticks; Tea Urns; Cans;



Mary Goddard's Baltimore grew rapidly during the Revolution and made her position as postmaster a highly desirable one in the new United States government. The post office was on Market Street. Detail from A. P. Folie's Plan of the Town of Baltimore 1792. (Maryland Historical Society.)

than her conduct is consistent with the duties & interest of the Establishment." In the end, however, if their request was not enough to reinstate her, they were willing to give "any security" that might be required.²⁰

On November 13, 1789, the day after the citizens of Baltimore sent their letter to the postmaster general, another Baltimorean penned a letter to Philadelphia, telling a friend of Goddard's personal sacrifice while running the postoffice during a time of depreciating "continental currency, when its value was not adequate to her trouble." He could not understand how and why a person would even consider taking her post. If rumors about replacing officeholders did circulate through Baltimore, and if some of them concerned removing Goddard, they were never more than speculation. In addition to the prevailing mood of "uncommon satisfaction" with regard to Goddard's performance of her duties, a sense of respect would have, and apparently did, cause prospective replacements to turn down the

Opposite: Goddard sold a variety of printed materials, scientific instruments, and personal and consumer items in the post office on Market Street. This advertisement appeared in an almanac she printed in 1785. (Maryland Historical Society.)

appointment. Although there were “many worthy officers and citizens of this state, to whom the emoluments, trifling as they are, might prove a seasonable relief,” wrote the Baltimorean, “yet their sense of honor and delicacy has been such, as to disdain every idea of that kind, upon any other terms than that of her own free and voluntary resignation.” Although gentlemen in Baltimore had “declined the attempt,” there was one individual, “scarcely known in Baltimore” who did not hesitate to accept the appointment—John White. The Baltimorean angrily summed up his view of White’s actions: the scoundrel “insidiously” stepped in and took “this lady’s living from her—An act no gentleman in this state, be his necessities ever so pressing, would be mean enough to stoop to for relief.”²¹

The writer clearly believed that White had broken an unwritten code of honor between gentlemen. Goddard’s male supporter recognized the personal sacrifices she had made during dire times and was appalled at the behavior of John White, a former commissioner of army accounts during the war. He labeled Colonel White’s actions the “first instance known of a military gentleman’s seizing and making prize of all the worldly dependence of a female subject and ally.” In an intentional attempt at poignancy, Goddard’s sympathizer concluded by remarking that “Plunder thus acquired, should make an Algerine pirate blush for meanly tarnishing the honorable profession of arms, with spoils taken from *even an enemy in petticoats*.”²² In this writer’s mind, Goddard was a weak and vulnerable petticoated woman. Attacking her would shame even the most ruthless of plunderers. Moreover, he disparaged White’s manhood because White had chosen an unworthy opponent, thereby violating the customs and honor of gentlemen. Although the code of gentlemanly honor appeared in some ways to be unraveling in the aftermath of a democratic political and social revolution, enough was still in place to stigmatize White among those who considered themselves apart from cowards and commoners. White’s actions were not only considered ungentlemanly, they were judged unmanly.²³

When the gentlemen of Baltimore proved unable to have her reinstated, Goddard took her case to the United States Senate. There she presented herself not as a woman in distress but as a dedicated patriot of the American cause. The republican language that dominated her petition was in stark contrast to the gendered language employed by her staunch gentleman supporters. The philosophy of a *res publica*, as outlined by historian Gordon S. Wood, established the welfare of the people as the foundation on which the new nation would be built. Central to the concept of republicanism was the sacrifice of self-interest for the public good, an idea that became a goal for Americans during the Revolution.²⁴ To reach it, Americans must endure personal sacrifice on behalf of the community; self-interest, luxury, and political factions were antithetical to the end result of a government working for the commonweal. Mary Goddard knew that she had made sacrifices for the cause and seethed that self-interest and factionalism should displace her.

The people of Baltimore were profoundly perturbed by White's impropriety, not by the fact that a woman held a public position. Goddard's supporters perceived a miscarriage of justice, not because she was a woman but because she was, as the gentlemen of Baltimore described her, a "worthy fellow Citizen." What mattered to the roughly two hundred and fifty men who supported her is that she had worked as a trusted public servant who performed her duties well and responsibly.²⁵ The injustice of relieving a public servant who had served the community well did not escape them. They told Osgood that one reason they had decided to write on Goddard's behalf was because they shared "a love of Justice."²⁶

And however disturbed she was by her dismissal, Goddard responded with confidence, integrity, and the conviction that she had suffered an injustice. Merit and loyalty were the two attributes necessary to retaining one's post when the country adopted the new Constitution. Echoing the sentiments of her supporters, she told Washington that it was "universally understood, that no Person would be removed from Office, under the present Government, unless manifest misconduct appeared, and as no such Charge could possibly be made against her, with the least colour of Justice, She was happy in the Idea of being secured both in her Office, and the Protection of all those who wished well to the prosperity of the Post Office, & the new Government in general." Goddard believed that because she had performed her job well and had supported the federal government, she should be able to keep her post unless her activity proved less than satisfactory. Because there was nothing that could be held against her in this sense, she told Washington, her dismissal was "an extraordinary Act of oppression towards her."²⁷ She viewed herself as a public officer who ought to be treated with respect, especially in the announcement of dismissal from her public post. At the very least Goddard believed she deserved a personal interview with Assistant Postmaster General Burrall during his visit to Baltimore.²⁸

Her emphasis on the indignity of her dismissal reveals a strong belief in her own public worth. She now had to contend with the repercussion that dismissal had on her reputation—reputation being synonymous with honor in the eighteenth century.²⁹ To be discharged from a public post implied that one had behaved in ways that could be construed as harmful to the public good. The public, she doubtless feared, would suspect that her dismissal was an indication of dishonorable conduct. For this reason she hoped that she would be restored to the "public Confidence & the Enjoyment of her former Office."³⁰

It is evident that as a public servant, Goddard was anything but a shrinking violet. Her occupations brought her into constant contact with influential Baltimoreans. The printing office on Market Street was a "hub of activity." A printer was an important and influential person in the community, especially in a port town, and her position as postmaster of Baltimore brought with it additional importance and responsibility.³¹ Goddard also took well-deserved pride in her

accomplishments as deputy postmaster. During the unstable and unpredictable years of war and revolution, she had managed to keep the post office functioning. Central to her sense of duty fulfilled were her personal sacrifices for the struggling republic. When lack of specie threatened to limit the use of post-riders, Goddard had used her own funds to keep dispatches moving.³² She reminded Washington that she had accepted the position of deputy postmaster during a period of financial uncertainty and had supplied it with the necessary hard currency "at her own risque" and with much sacrifice. Baltimore was well aware of her "many heavy losses . . . which swallowed up the Fruits of her Industry." Throughout this "gloomy period," her post office remained "the most punctual & regular of any upon the Continent."³³ No doubt she expected Washington to understand and appreciate this type of sacrifice.³⁴

It is clear that in her petition to Congress and in her observations on Osgood's prolonged answer to the gentlemen of Baltimore, Goddard viewed her dismissal as a violation of the republican foundation of American political culture. Did she have available any other than the language of classical republicanism in which to couch her request to be reinstated, to ask for the return of her source of financial security, to plead for recognition and identity?

Yes she did, as is evident in the communications of other women in different circumstances. American women often petitioned Congress for their husbands' veteran pensions so that they and their children could survive financial hardship. For instance, when Sarah Parker, widow of a colonel wounded and taken prisoner at Bunker Hill in June 1775 and who had died shortly thereafter, petitioned Congress, she made it known that she "was left with a large family of young children, and has had to encounter many difficulties in supporting and bringing them up." Anna Treat petitioned Congress in February 1790, "praying that some allowance or provision for her support may be granted her in consideration of the poverty and distress to which she is reduced by the loss of her son, who was slain in the service of the United States during the late war."³⁵ American women who remained loyal to the crown applied to the British government for assistance. Like their patriot counterparts, they stressed the need for protection against financial ruin.³⁶ In these cases, women sought a protector through gendered language that emphasized the domestic.

Goddard's worldview, unlike that of the aforementioned women, was political and public. Her sense of independence may have derived from her upbringing or from her activities in the post office and printing business during the Revolution. Her brother William, who had a propensity for involvement in political controversy, may also have influenced her.³⁷ For whatever reason, Goddard used elements of the language of republicanism to state her case. By doing so, she turned

Opposite: Goddard's eloquent letter to President George Washington, in which she argued for her job on the grounds that she had patriotically served the new nation during the Revolution. (Maryland Historical Society.)

the tables on politicians who clearly understood the language and the implications of its use. In presenting herself as the virtuous public servant, she presented politicians with a choice between the welfare of the people or political self-interest.³⁸ Unfortunately for Goddard, her idea of virtue and how it related to public office was being replaced steadily by a different conception of virtue.

The post-revolutionary era saw a shift in the meaning of "virtue" in American political culture. Whereas "virtue" began and remained throughout the revolution a term with male connotations, after the war it slowly came to be identified with traits deemed feminine—morality, and specifically sexual morality—values located closer to hearth than forum. Furthermore, as "reason, justice, and enlightenment" came to be regarded as the foundation of constitutional America, self-interest was no longer incompatible with the new "institutionalized public order." Self-interest, in short, was becoming respectable. Goddard's quest for justice in terms of classical, self-sacrificing republicanism certainly would have been understood, but not deemed essential. The rhetoric of classical republicanism was being marginalized slowly but consistently as the nineteenth-century approached.³⁹

Goddard's letter to Washington in December 1789 related the personal sacrifices she had made to continue her duties during the war. In her petition to Congress in early 1790, she again emphasized her personal contributions but also expanded her argument, suggesting that the new federal government was practicing an older, British form of political patronage. "In old countries, People come in & go out, with the Minister of the day & his party," Goddard announced in her petition. She never would have thought that in the United States "any Minister, Party, or Individual, would deign to cast a wishful Eye upon so small an Object, whilst in the Hands of such a Possessor."⁴⁰

Goddard not only implied that Old World corruption was at the core of her dismissal but also, so it seemed, was homegrown economic self-interest. After reading or hearing Osgood's evasive explanation, she asked, "Why, if a Deputy was to be removed, at the instance of the People of Annapolis, should it not be their own Deputy, a Post Office being kept there? . . . The Answer is plain. It was not sufficiently profitable to make it worth while to remove him."⁴¹ A postmaster was entitled to a percentage of the receipts generated from postal service. Since Goddard held her position during the war, when business was disrupted and consequently revenue remained low, she had not enjoyed the legitimate profits potentially available to her.⁴² Aware that she was being removed from her office as it was finally becoming lucrative, Mary Goddard suspected self-interested political bargaining at work. Evidently, her office was not "so small an Object" after all.

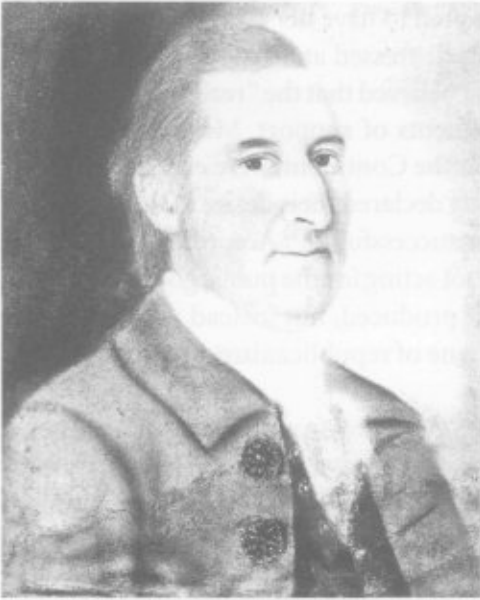
Since she adhered to the belief that the ultimate goal of republican government in post-revolutionary America was the public good, Goddard accused Osgood, and by implication anyone associated with the decision to dismiss her, as acting against the people. Her Baltimore supporters, Governor John Eager Howard, and the consuls of France and the United Provinces of the Netherlands

made known their displeasure and attempted to have her reinstated. Clearly, the community, pleased with her service, was distressed at Osgood's decision to replace an experienced postmaster. Goddard believed that the "real Sentiment of the People" had been declared in announcements of support. Moreover, Goddard stated that "the Citizens of no Town upon the Continent, were ever known to be more unanimous" than when they publicly declared their desire to retain her and refused John White's placement (albeit unsuccessfully).⁴³ According to Goddard, those who removed her from office were not acting for the public good, the central tenet of the Revolution and the nation it produced, but instead were driven by political and financial corruption—the bane of republicanism.

WHY DID THE POSTMASTER GENERAL REMOVE Goddard from office? We can never really know. One obvious explanation is that she was a woman. After all, this was the reason given by Assistant Postmaster General Burrall when the Baltimore gentlemen approached him regarding Goddard's dismissal. Burrall responded by saying that the deputy postmaster would have to undertake much more traveling than could be expected from a woman.⁴⁴ Burrall probably believed they would accept his excuse without further explanation, but if that was his intention, he failed. The governor wrote to Osgood in support of Goddard because he feared that she had been dismissed due to a "mistake, *prejudice*, or misrepresentation." The men of Baltimore and Goddard herself also demonstrated the unreasonableness of Burrall's explanation by arguing convincingly that it would be illogical and irresponsible to require the deputy postmaster to be absent. If traveling was required, assistants could be hired to perform this duty while the deputy postmaster remained on site to run the post office.⁴⁵

The stated reason for relieving Goddard of her duties does not imply the exclusion of women from official positions as a matter of public policy or social mores in 1789. Goddard and her supporters considered her a fellow citizen of equal standing and made their stand based on that truth. The exclusion of women from public positions, however, would become an assumed aspect of early nineteenth-century political culture. Although women continued acting as postal clerks and even as postmasters of small towns, their appointments as postmasters became less likely. In fact, between 1775 and 1861 no other woman was appointed as postmaster of a major commercial center.⁴⁶ Whether it was the closing of loopholes that had allowed female suffrage, such as in New Jersey, or the fact that the separate spheres of men and women became increasingly defined in the nineteenth century, women were essentially excluded from emerging democratic politics.⁴⁷ As postmasterships rapidly became patronage positions, it is not surprising to find an absence of women holding these jobs in lucrative commercial centers. How could women be rewarded for political service when they were excluded from electoral partisan politics?⁴⁸

Although the real reason for Goddard's dismissal will remain veiled in mys-



William Goddard (1740–1817) wrote blistering Antifederalist editorials during the ratification debates that may have contributed to his sister losing her position. (Maryland Historical Society.)

tery, it is more likely that she was a casualty of politics and circumstance and that Osgood did not dismiss her solely because of her gender. Several years earlier, during the Confederation period, then-Postmaster General Ebenezer Hazard repeatedly praised Goddard's performance as postmistress. While most appointees retained their official positions when the Constitution became law, Washington did not reappoint Hazard as postmaster general. Washington may have been disgruntled over the controversy surrounding the post office during the ratification debates. Antifederalists publicly alleged that newspapers, selectively delivered, misinformed people about the debates taking place in other states.⁴⁹ Antifederalists, especially antifederalist printers, were vociferous in their accusations that the Federalists conspired to mislead the populace in matters relating to the proposed Constitution. This controversy had the potential to derail the ratification movement.

One such Antifederalist printer was Mary Goddard's brother William, who expressed his belief that "All Intercourse between the several Printers of Newspapers on the Continent now appears to be stopt. . . . If Relief is not soon obtained, a new Post-Office & Riders will be established here, in Opposition to the present contemptible Establishment."⁵⁰ Just weeks before the Maryland convention met and ratified the Constitution, Antifederalists in Baltimore were agitated because the election for delegates was imminent but Antifederalist newspapers had not passed through the Baltimore post office. It is likely that the following warning, which appeared in the *Maryland Journal*, emanated from William Goddard's pen: "The present Post Office Administration would do well to reflect on the Fate of

their Predecessors.” This announcement could have been construed as even more threatening because the person speaking had experience in setting up extra-legal post offices. Even though Mary and William Goddard were estranged at the time, the fact that William expressed this thought, that he was a spirited Antifederalist, and that he printed the *Maryland Journal* while his sister ran the post office would not have escaped the notice of federal authorities.⁵¹ They may well have concluded that the post office controlled by his sister was strategically positioned to act as the first of several alternative post offices.

Mary Goddard therefore found herself in a precarious position during the early days of the new republic. She had been supported by one of the few top officials dismissed in the transition to the new government, and her politically active Antifederalist brother published a newspaper. These circumstances, coupled with Mary’s influential position at the center of information exchange in a booming port city, possibly led Osgood and others in power to think that she might eventually prove to be a political liability.⁵² Moreover, her supporters felt that it was necessary to address the political concerns of keeping Goddard as deputy postmaster of Baltimore. They told the postmaster general that they expected Goddard to remain in office as long as her conduct was “consistent with the duties & interest of the Establishment.”⁵³

Apparently the postmaster general did not think Goddard had satisfied this requirement. Beyond what has already been discussed, it is likely that Goddard fell victim to the increasing use of patronage. During the course of the 1790s, the federal government continued to expand. Between 1789 and 1800 the number of postmasters increased from one hundred to more than eight hundred, making the post office fertile ground for patronage, and the Federalists did not hesitate to capitalize on offices so pivotal to the diffusion of information.⁵⁴

That Goddard’s postmastership was terminated while others were retained suggests that reasons of patronage were central to her dismissal. Even though the men of importance in Baltimore and the former postmaster general acknowledged Goddard’s merit, she was dismissed from her post. As it happened, quite the opposite occurred when it came to appointing a postmaster in Philadelphia. Osgood told Washington that he had decided to continue the services of Robert Patton, “who has been several years in the Post Office at Philadelphia.” Patton’s “conduct” in the Philadelphia post office was considered “universally agreeable to the Citizens of Philadelphia—as will ap[p]ear from the recommendations in my possession.” Osgood also retained one of his own appointees, the postmaster in New York City, Sebastian Bauman, even though he had to be admonished for laxness in the performance of his duties and for taking financial advantage of his office. Osgood’s successor, Timothy Pickering, threatened to remove Boston postmaster Jonathan Hastings, but key Massachusetts Federalists intervened and prevented his dismissal. As historian Carl Prince states, the retention of these postmasters indicates that

when postmaster generals weighed “official incompetence against political utility” the latter won out.⁵⁵ When Goddard and her supporters pointed to her accomplishments and sacrifices as a postmaster, they were speaking the wrong language. In blaming Old World politics, that is, patronage, for her dismissal, Goddard was probably right on the mark.

The conclusion that Goddard was removed because of politics, rather than because she was a woman becomes even more convincing when we look at the role of merchants. The postmaster general recognized that merchants generated most of the postal revenue and acknowledged their community position over all others. Osgood demonstrated this when he wrote to Peter Mumford in regard to a petition from Newport merchants in late 1790: “[T]he Letter and representation of the Merchants of Newport is before me—It will always give me pleasure to afford them all the Assistance in my Power.”⁵⁶ This is in stark contrast to the treatment that the merchants of Baltimore received from Osgood’s assistant, Burrall, a year earlier. Even if Burrall had not known Osgood’s position on the matter, the postmaster general himself had rebuffed Goddard’s reinstatement when hundreds of her merchant supporters petitioned him. Placing an acquaintance of both the postmaster general and his assistant in a strategic political position in Baltimore apparently outweighed the desire of the city’s merchants, and Goddard’s official competence. Therefore, to retain Goddard’s services was not sufficiently in the “interest of the Establishment.” When Osgood had to explain himself to her supporters, he used a feeble excuse rather than explaining the rise of cronyism in the federal civil service.

During the Revolutionary and Constitutional era, American women presented themselves as a public political force in a variety of ways.⁵⁷ The separate spheres of men and women were not yet as entrenched as they would soon become in the antebellum period.⁵⁸ Toward the end of his presidency Thomas Jefferson wrote, “The appointment of a woman to office is an innovation for which the public is not prepared, nor am I.”⁵⁹ Jefferson’s remark tells us that women like Goddard had been forgotten by 1807. Not long before, however, an American woman had not only been placed in a public office, but her appointment was one that the public welcomed and endorsed. However rare and unrepresentative Goddard was of her period, she demonstrated that a woman could and did harness the language of republicanism to defend herself and to question authority.⁶⁰ Although she was ultimately unsuccessful in her reinstatement, Goddard confronted the government using a political language shared by her fellow public officers. When Baltimore’s postmaster lost her job in the partisan world of post-revolutionary American politics, she fought that action with a powerful and logical response that she believed would attract even George Washington’s support. In that response, we see that Mary Goddard’s eloquently expressed and passionately argued case rested on lofty republican ideals that could not withstand the coarse democratic realities of the new republic.

NOTES

1. The president remained aloof from directing the post-office department. The Postmaster General was responsible for appointing postmasters. Dorothy Twohig, ed., *Papers of George Washington*, vol. 4, Presidential Series (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 428n. Since postmasters were rarely dismissed, Goddard must have been all the more surprised by her removal from office. See Forrest McDonald, *The Presidency of George Washington* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 41–42. The author wishes to thank Mary Ferone-Young, Richard R. John, Rebecca Tannenbaum, Rosemarie Zaggarri, and the participants of the Women in History group at the University of Illinois at Chicago for their comments and suggestions.
2. Mary Katherine Goddard to George Washington, December 23, 1789, *The Papers of George Washington*, 4: 27. That Goddard wrote directly to the president would not have been surprising. See, McDonald, *The Presidency of George Washington*, 39–40.
3. Jan Lewis, “‘Of Every Age Sex & Condition’: The Representation of Women in the Constitution,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 15 (1995): 377–78.
4. *Baltimore: April 26. We have just Received the Following Important Intelligence* (Baltimore: 1775); *In Congress, July 4, 1776* (Baltimore: 1776) *In Congress, January 18, 1777* (Baltimore: 1777).
5. I use the term “citizen” because Goddard and her male supporters did so. Goddard could not vote, yet she was referred to and thought of herself as a citizen. For a discussion of the complexity and shifting definitions of citizenship for women, see the following works by Linda Kerber, “‘History Can Do It No Justice’: Women and the Reinterpretation of the American Revolution” in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 3–42; Kerber, “The Paradox of Women’s Citizenship in the Early Republic: The Case of Martin vs. Massachusetts, 1805,” *American Historical Review*, 97 (1992): 349–78; and most recently, Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women & the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1998).
6. The main reason for this is the paucity of information available on Goddard. Nonetheless, she has not gone without notice. When writing about her, historians tend to focus on her as a printer. See Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686–1776* (Baltimore: Typothetae of Baltimore, 1922), 119–46, esp. 144–46; Joseph Towne Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777–1790* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1938), 11–18; Leona M. Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers 1639–1820* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1978), 318–39; Martha King, “Making an Impression: Women Printers in the Southern Colonies in the Revolutionary Era” (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1992), chapter 8.
7. For the role of the republican mother, see Linda Kerber, “The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective,” *American Quarterly*, 28 (1976): 202. According to Kerber, “The tangled and complex role of the Republican Mother offered one among many structures and contexts in which women might define the civic culture and their responsibilities to the state.” *Ibid.*, 188.
8. Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect & Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980); Ruth H. Bloch, “The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 13 (1987): 37–58.
9. Other women in the early national period used republican rhetoric. One such person was Judith Sargent Murray. Linda Kerber tells us that the “rhetoric of republican virtue and

independence provided the language for her insistence on the need for women to avoid subservience and docility, the need for women to be self-supporting and self-respecting." Thus, Murray focuses on women in terms of public issues, such as education. Whereas, I contend, Goddard focuses on herself as a public servant. This does not mean that Goddard was unique in making claims on the new republic. Many women who participated in the revolution in a variety of functions felt empowered to make claims on the American government. And the petition was the main, if not the only, way to do so. See Linda Kerber, "I Have Don . . . Much to Carrey on the Warr': Women and the Shaping of Republican Ideology After the American Revolution," in *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 103, 111, 115, 118.

10. Mary Katherine Goddard to George Washington, December 23, 1789, *Papers of George Washington*, 4: 427; Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777–1790*, 14.

11. Kenneth R. Bowling, William Charles DiGiacomantonio, and Charlene Bangs Bickford, eds., *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress 1789–1791*, vol. 8., *Petition Histories and Nonlegislative Official Documents* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 123–24 (hereafter cited as *Petition Histories*); Samuel Osgood to George Washington, October 5, 1789, 4: 139; John White to George Washington, May 28, 1789, *Dorothy Twohig, ed., The Papers of George Washington*, vol. 2, *Presidential Series* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1987) 139, 404–5, 405n 1; Raymond Walters Jr., *Alexander James Dallas: Lawyer-Politician-Financier, 1759–1817* (1943, repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 15. It is likely that Osgood and White became acquainted with each other while White served as Maryland's commissioner to settle accounts between that state and the federal government. While White served in that function, Osgood was acting as one of three treasury commissioners. It was while he served in this latter capacity that he recommended White to the governor of Maryland. See, James M. Banner, Jr., "Samuel Osgood," *American National Biography*, vol. 16 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 800–801; Samuel Osgood to John White, April 23, 1785, Revolutionary War Collection, MS 1814, Manuscripts Department, Maryland Historical Society Library.

12. *Independent Gazetteer*, November 18, 1789. I would like to thank William Charles DiGiacomantonio and Kenneth R. Bowling for this valuable source.

13. Petition of Mary Katherine Goddard, January 29, 1790, February 18, 1790, *Petition Histories*, 234.

14. *Ibid.*, 235.

15. Carol Sue Humphrey, "Mary Goddard," *American National Biography*, vol. 9 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 137. In 1796 Goddard opened a bookstore. This might have helped her financial situation after losing income from both the newspaper and the post office. See, King, "Making an Impression," 362.

16. Humphrey, "Mary Goddard," 136–37; Maurine H. Beasley, "Sarah Updike Goddard," *American National Biography*, eds. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, vol. 9 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 142–43; Susan Henry, "Sarah Goddard, Gentlewoman Printer," *Journalism Quarterly*, 57 (1980): 23–30; Nancy Fisher Chudacoff, "Woman in the News 1762–1770: Sarah Updike Goddard," *Rhode Island History*, 32 (1973): 98–105.

17. Kathryn Allamong Jacob, "The Woman's Lot in Baltimore Town: 1729–97," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (1976): 290.

18. Humphrey, "Mary Goddard," 136.

19. *Independent Gazetteer*, November 18, 1789.

20. Inhabitants of Baltimore to Samuel Osgood, November 12, 1789, *Petition Histories*, 236–37.

21. *Independent Gazetteer*, November 18, 1789.

22. Ibid. Apparently, this trope was used to illustrate the inappropriateness of certain behavior, and how this behavior violated the established rules construed as civilized. By stating that one's actions would make a "savage" blush illustrated how unacceptable the behavior was to society or "civilized" people. After the Battles of Lexington and Concord, Joseph Warren wrote that the actions of the British troops would make the Iroquois "blush at such horrid murder, and worse than brutal rage." Warren quoted in John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), 408.

23. White, unlike others, was apparently unconcerned about his reputation or honor. The concern over what others thought of you was considered to be an incentive to avoid unacceptable behavior. This gentlemen's code of honor began to crumble in the aftermath of the American Revolution. The reaction to White's actions by this particular gentleman in Baltimore illustrates the tension involved in the democratization of America society. See Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 38–40, 363.

24. Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1969), 53, 55.

25. I write "roughly" because some of the signatures were those of companies such as "Robert Gilmore & Co." Each company counted as one individual. Records of the U.S. Senate, RG 46, National Archives, Washington D.C.

26. Inhabitants of Baltimore to Samuel Osgood, November 12, 1789, *Petition Histories*, 236–37.

27. Mary Katherine Goddard to George Washington, December 23, 1789, *Papers of George Washington*, 4: 426–27. Goddard's use of the word "oppression" might very well be the first time a woman used this word in a political context. Linda Kerber points out that when Mary Wollstonecraft used the word "oppression" in 1792 to describe "the denial to women of political privilege and civil rights" she was the first woman to do so. See Kerber, "'History Can Do It No Justice': Women and the Reinterpretation of the American Revolution," 33. It is interesting to note that Goddard used this term three years earlier to describe her treatment within the official political realm. Although Goddard was not concerned with the denial of political rights per se, she considered her dismissal unjust.

28. Mary Katherine Goddard to George Washington, December 23, 1789, *Papers of George Washington*, 4: 427.

29. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 39.

30. Petition of Mary Katherine Goddard, *Petition Histories*, 235. Presumably, petitioning Congress was a way that supplicants could publicly challenge any implied or explicit attack on one's reputation. While Goddard was concerned with the implied message of her dismissal, another public official, Robert Morris, while a senator, petitioned Congress in order to clear his name of accusations of "maladminstration" during the 1780s. See, *Petition Histories*, 663–75. Similar concerns plagued former postmasters. When he heard of his imminent dismissal in 1781, former Postmaster General Richard Bache wrote to Benjamin Franklin, "All that gives me concern in this business is, that if I am displaced, it will convey to the world an idea that I have not done my duty." Richard Bache to Benjamin Franklin, November 24, 1781, quoted in James Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 9. The former postmaster of New York City echoed these sentiments when he told Washington that he worried that his dismissal "may leave a Stigma on my Character." William Bedlow to George Washington, September 27, 1789, *The Papers of George Washington*, 4: 90–91. See also, "Reputation" in *Carlisle Gazette*, January 15, 1794.

31. King, "Making an Impression," 312.

32. See Richard D. Brown, *The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650–1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), esp. chapter 3.

33. Mary Katherine Goddard to George Washington, December 23, 1789, *Papers of George Washington*, 4: 426–27. Goddard's assertion is supported by former Postmaster General Ebenezer Hazard. Unknowingly, on the same day that Goddard presented her case in a letter to President Washington, Hazard commented on Goddard's performance as his deputy. Hazard remarked that Goddard, "is so extremely punctual in her Remittances that she does not wait for the Expiration of the Quarter, but sends on Money from time to time as she gets it, & at the End of the Quarter we are generally in her Debt." Ebenezer Hazard to Horatio Gates, New York, December 23, 1789, Emmet Collection at the New York Public Library. Quoted in Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777–1790*, 14.

34. Moreover, there is a good possibility that Goddard had been aware of Washington's belief in the merit system. For Washington's belief in meritocracy as opposed to the patronage system in Great Britain, see Paul K. Longmore, *The Invention of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999; orig., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 47, 54.

35. Report of the Secretary of War, February 23, 1793, January 25, 1790, and February 5, 1790, *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress, 1789–1790*, vol. 7, *Revolutionary War–Related Claims* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 253, 256.

36. Mary Beth Norton, "Eighteenth-Century American Women in Peace and War: The Case of the Loyalists," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 33 (1976): 386–409. Goddard, like other public officers who were dismissed, expressed concern over the loss of an income, but unlike the women cited here, she did not ask for assistance. However, Goddard, like her male counterparts, based her appeal on her efforts for the country during dire times while serving in an official capacity. Mary Goddard to George Washington, December 23, 1789, *The Papers of George Washington*, 4: 426–28; Richard Bache to George Washington, April 21, 1789, *The Papers of George Washington*, 2: 95–97.

37. At this time, it was not uncommon for women to express themselves and their civic duties in latent religious language or with "the rhetoric of religion." See Kerber, "Can a Woman be an Individual? The Discourse of Self-Reliance," 211, and idem, "'History Can Do It No Justice': Women and the Reinterpretation of the American Revolution," 28. Although available to Goddard, any reference to religion or the use of religious language is completely absent. For a biography of William Goddard, see Ward L. Miner, *William Goddard: Newspaperman* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1962). One such political controversy occurred between William Goddard and the Baltimore Whig Club in 1777. See *ibid.*, 150–62. See also, William Goddard, *The Prowess of the Whig Club* (Baltimore, 1777).

38. According to Jan Lewis, at least one important architect of the Constitution's language, James Wilson, considered women within the context of "We the People." See Lewis, "'Of Every Age Sex & Condition' The Representation of Women in the Constitution," 366.

39. For this shift, see Bloch, "Gendered Meanings," 41–46.

40. Petition of Mary Katherine Goddard, January 29, 1790, February 18, 1790, *Petition Histories*, 233–36. Goddard's remark of "such a possessor" might be construed as gendered language. However, it is more likely that she was utilizing the language of modesty, which was often used by a supplicant when trying to secure a position, or as is the case here, to be restored to an official position. Moreover, the language used by Goddard is in accord with the language used by the budding Republican opposition. Nearly from the start, the nascent opposition saw evidence of "constitutional decay" and pointed to the Federalists as the cause.

The Republican opposition believed that it imitated Great Britain in the way they ran government affairs. The outcome, the opposition feared, would be the loss of balanced government, which would be the result of growing executive influence at the expense of the legislature. Washington himself abhorred the system of British patronage, often referred to as "corruption" by contemporaries, and believed in meritocracy. Nonetheless, politics did come to influence appointments made by department heads and congressmen. Initially, one's Revolutionary record was the main determinant for appointments. Thus, when Goddard writes "such a possessor," she might also have been referring to her contributions to the republic. Hence, Goddard focuses on her role during the Revolution and her positive attitude towards the Federal government. However, criteria for appointments soon changed. See Lance Banning, "Republican Ideology and the Triumph of the Constitution, 1789–1793," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 31(1974): 171–72, 181, 182 and Jack N. Rakove, "The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George Washington," in Richard Beeman, et al., eds., *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitutional and American National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 290. Moreover, during the eighteenth century, American colonists did not hesitate to use republican rhetoric when things did not go as they expected. This was especially the case during election time, when the "rhetoric of republican virtue, like that of republican liberty, was very much in the mold of the jeremiad, dusted off and trotted out when one's opponents were using popular electioneering devices and organizing in a partisan fashion." See Richard R. Beeman, "Deference, Republicanism, and the Emergence of Popular Politics in Eighteenth-Century America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 49 (July 1992): 428–29.

41. Mary Katherine Goddard's Observations, *Petition Histories*, 238.

42. King, "Making an Impression," 356. No doubt Goddard recognized the potential for finally receiving a handsome financial return for her efforts. By 1794 the Baltimore post office ranked third in gross revenue, following only Philadelphia and New York. See Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 125.

43. Mary Katherine Goddard's Observations, *Petition Histories*, 238.

44. In Western Europe, during the early modern period, men who sought to exclude women from the political realm often turned to the natural or biological differences between men and women to make their case. See Rosemarie Zagarri, "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 55 (1998): 220.

45. *Petition Histories*, 236, 238–39. In his response to the inhabitants of Baltimore, Osgood did not give a detailed explanation for his decision to dismiss Goddard. He told the gentlemen of Baltimore how impressed he was with their support for Goddard, and how he wished he could grant their request, but the department "cannot be so easily regulated & managed, as I thought it might be." Osgood continued to be evasive with his reason. He told the Goddard supporters that the "Post Master General is by the Ordinance of Congress, made accountable for the conduct of the Deputies. This responsibility is a matter of very serious consequence to him. In all such cases, there seems to be a peculiar Propriety in permitting the Officer to exercise his own Judgment freely. From mature consideration, I am fully convinced that I shall be more benefitted from the Services of Mr. White, than I could be from those of Miss Goddard." Samuel Osgood to Richard Curson, January 7, 1790, *Petition Histories*, 237. Interestingly, nearly two weeks later Osgood told the treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton, that the postmaster general cannot be responsible for deputies. Samuel Osgood to Alexander Hamilton, January 20, 1790, Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962) 202.

46. This includes New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, and Richmond.

John, *Spreading the News*, 117–19. However, women continued to act as postmasters in small towns. In Maryland there were at least two women: Elizabeth Creswell, who served in Charlestown in 1786, and Rebecca Nowland, who acted as postmaster in Harford in 1811. Both appear to have replaced their husbands. See Robert J. Stets, *Postmasters & Postoffices of the United States, 1782–1811* (Lake Oswego, Or: La Posta Publications, 1994).

47. Judith Apter and Lois Elkins, “‘The Petticoat Electors’: Women’s Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776–1807,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 12 (1992): 159–93. As the term virtue came to be more and more identified with females, so did the realm outside of politics, namely, the home. Although women were excluded from electoral politics, their responsibility to produce and maintain public virtue within this realm imbued “the feminine notion of virtue” with a “political significance it had previously lacked.” See, Bloch, “The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America,” 56. With the exception of New Jersey, during the 1790s women were excluded from electoral politics, as they would be during the Jacksonian period. While excluded, however, women were invited to political meetings and addressed by political orators, signifying their importance in the political culture. Ironically, the social conservative Federalists were more likely to welcome and encourage the presence of women than were the more equality-minded Democratic Republicans. This would remain the case in the Jacksonian period when it was once again the social conservatives, this time in the form of the Whig party, who would consider the potential political force of women. See Rosemarie Zagari, “Gender and the First Party System,” in *Federalists Reconsidered*, eds. Doron Ben-Atar and Barbara B. Oberg (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 118–34.

48. John, *Spreading the News*, 138–40.

49. For example, see “Centinel XVIII,” *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, April 9, 1788, in *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vol. 17, *Commentaries on the Constitution*, Public and Private 5:54–60.

50. William Goddard to Mathew Carey, Baltimore, February 28, 1788, *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, 4:553. See *Maryland Journal*, February 29, 1788, March 11, 1788, March 18, 1788; and “Watchman,” *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, March 26, 1788 in *ibid.*, 553, 556, 561, 572–73, 573 n4.

51. William Goddard was instrumental in developing what eventually became the United States Post Office. It was not unique for printers to double as postmasters. In early America, an important relationship existed between a printing office and a post office. In general, printers were dependent on postmasters to make timely and dependable delivery of their publications. National distribution of newspapers was important in order to maintain an informed citizenry. Congress recognized the central importance of the post office in this endeavor. Their recognition came in the form of the Post Office Act of 1792, which allowed printers to send their newspapers through the mail at a low cost, thereby encouraging a nationwide distribution of information. See John, *Spreading the News*, esp. chapter 2.

52. *Petition Histories*, 231. By 1789 Baltimore had become a major center for grain exports and an important port for America’s importing trade, behind only Philadelphia and New York. See McDonald, *The Presidency of George Washington*, 13–14; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, vol. 2 (1879, repr. Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 604–5. By 1790 Baltimore had become the American Republic’s fourth-largest city. See, Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763–1812* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 3. For the emergence of the manufacturing interest in Baltimore, see Tina H. Sheller, “Artisans, Manufacturing, and the Rise of a Manufacturing Interest in Revolutionary Baltimore Town,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 83 (1988): 3–17. An Englishman remembered Washington telling him that Balti-

more "was and would be the risingest town in America, except the Federal City." Quoted in Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors 1783–1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), 21–22.

53. Inhabitants of Baltimore to Samuel Osgood, November 12, 1789, *Petition Histories*, 237.

54. Carl E. Prince, *The Federalists and the Origins of the U.S. Civil Service* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 183.

55. *Ibid.*, 188–90. Quote on 189. Samuel Osgood to George Washington, October 5, 1789, *The Papers of George Washington*, 4:139–40.

56. *Ibid.*, 192–93. Quote on 193.

57. For political activity of American women during the revolutionary period, see Alfred F. Young, "The Women of Boston: 'Persons of Consequence' in the Making of the American Revolution, 1765–76," in Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy, eds. *Women and Politics in the Age of Democratic Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 181–226. For the participation of American women in popular political culture during the early national period, see Simon P. Newman, *Parades and Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). See also Zagarri, "Gender and the First Party System," 118–20.

58. Alexis de Tocqueville, the famous French observer of antebellum America, noted that in "America, more than anywhere else in the world, care has been taken constantly to trace clearly distinct spheres of action for the two sexes, and both are required to keep in step, but along paths that are never the same." Moreover, public opinion enforced these gendered spheres. In the United States, Tocqueville continued, the "inexorable public opinion carefully keeps woman within the little sphere of domestic interests and duties and will not let her go beyond them." Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1969), 592, 601. A British visitor to the United States made a similar observation concerning the demarcation of the sexes in early nineteenth-century America. However, this visitor did not think that there existed "any wish on the part of the men to depress the other sex." Rather, he felt that the men of America have a "sincere and strong desire, not only to raise women up, but to maintain them on the fairest level with themselves." In the end, the visitor believed that any change to this development was prevented by the "political and moral circumstances" in America. Captain Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1829), 294–95.

59. Thomas Jefferson to Albert Gallatin, January 13, 1807, in Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 10 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), 339.

60. Zagarri argues that when the "genie was out of the bottle" and men had to diffuse the emerging rights talk, the result was that the rights of women were often defined in terms of duty, which was influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment. Conversely, the rights of men, often defined in Lockean or liberal terms, encouraged the questioning of authority. See Zagarri, "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America." However, Goddard argued that because she had done and continued to do her duty to the public, the government had unjustly treated her by dismissing her. Goddard used duty in a classical republican sense to question authority about the decision to remove her from public office.



Catharine Wirt (1811–53), daughter of prominent attorney William Wirt, chose religion over marriage during the Second Great Awakening. (Courtesy, H. McIlvaine Lewis.)

Resisting the Altar: A Case Study of Conversion and Courtship in the Antebellum South

ANYA JABOUR

In late 1829, eighteen-year-old Baltimore resident Catharine Wirt penned an entry in her diary that marked a dramatic transition from her earlier comments on her “public entree” into society and her attempts “to look pretty & be admired.” “At this moment,” she announced, “I feel profoundly the utter folly & emptiness of every pursuit of my life! They are all bounded to the contracted horizon, of this petty world.” Henceforward, Catharine resolved, she would devote herself to “Self-examination” and to “humble & fervent supplication” before the “God of Mercy.”¹

In her diary, which she kept sporadically for the next five years, Catharine wrestled with two related issues: her relationship to religion and her responsibilities as a debutante. Initially, she resisted both conversion—a private conviction of faith—and the intended outcome of courtship—marriage to a man who was acceptable to her parents. Ultimately, it was easier for this southern woman to bow to religious compulsion than to social or parental dictates. As several recent studies of women and religion have suggested, religion could reinforce social constraints on women in the antebellum South, but it also could affirm a woman’s individual identity. Although conversion was a difficult and sometimes painful process, submission to God permitted and even sanctified defiance of parents, kin, and neighbors.² Catharine Wirt’s record of her crisis of conscience reveals the way in which yielding to God’s will could give southern women the confidence to make decisions about their own lives, including the decision to remain single and to carve out a niche for themselves as dutiful daughters, caring sisters, and faithful Christians.

Catharine was born in Richmond, Virginia, on March 29, 1811, the third daughter and fourth child of Elizabeth (nee Gamble) and William Wirt. The Wirts were a well-to-do couple who lavished love and attention on their children, who eventually numbered ten. Slave attendants and the children’s maternal grandparents, the Gambles, also played a role in the children’s upbringing. However, Catharine’s life was most affected by the example of her father, a southern success story who went from penniless orphan to respected lawyer and U.S. Attorney

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thinkers and evangelical pastors. By gaining their children's love, they used parental approval to motivate their children to diligence, duty, and morality. Daughters, no less than sons, were the targets of this careful childrearing, which was designed to produce well-educated, self-controlled adults. However, for their daughters, the Wirts had an additional goal: to prepare the girls for their debut into society at age seventeen and for marriage by the age of twenty. Catharine, along with her older sisters Laura (born in 1803) and Liz (born in 1809), learned most of her lessons at home. Under the combined tutelage of both parents, Catharine received a complete classical education, including lessons on modern and ancient languages, geography and history, and literature and physics, as well as instruction in housewifery and the fine arts. In late 1824, Catharine and her sister Liz left Washington, D.C., where their parents had moved when William accepted the attorney-generalship in 1817, for a brief spell at a boarding academy in Virginia. However, Catharine's health was delicate, and in early 1825, after less than two months at the academy, she and Liz returned home, where they attended a local school run by Mr. and Mrs. Bonfils and, still later, were instructed privately at home by a French governess.⁴

When Catharine's diary began, there were few hints at the dramatic turn that her life would take.⁵ In March 1827 she took the prize for first place at the Bonfils's school; shortly thereafter, her formal schooling ended, although she successfully prevailed upon her father to permit her to continue her lessons in French and the harp at home.⁶ Both Catharine's age—sixteen—and the subjects she studied with private tutors suggest that her parents considered her ready for society. The lady-like accomplishments that Catharine studied after her departure from school would not detract from, but rather enhance, her imminent debut.

Each of the older Wirt girls marked their readiness for courtship and eventual marriage with a formal ceremony. While the girls may have entertained suitors "en famille" prior to their debut, their first official entrance into society came when they attended one of the capitol city's many lavish balls during Washington's winter season. This was an event attended by much excitement in the Wirt family. The house was redecorated in preparation for receiving gentleman callers, and the girl on the brink of womanhood dressed all in white for the occasion. At the time of her own debut, during the winter season of 1827–28, Catharine was just a few months short of her seventeenth birthday.⁷

Catharine recorded the event in her diary with understated drama. Although she devoted significant attention to her dress, her family's admiration, and the family's reception, she claimed not to give much weight to the proceedings that marked her availability for marriage. "My heart beat a little as I entered [the room]," she wrote, "but I did not feel that excessive agitation which some young ladies fancy indispensable on the occasion of thier [sic] public entree au monde." Although "a little dazzled & at first stupified by the brilliant burst of light, & close

Friday - Nov. 4th 1827.

Father, Ma, Lizzy, & I went to a small party at Mrs. Deane's - wearing the same dresses & ornaments we had worn the evening before to Mrs. McLeans & Mr. Campbell's - we found no one there but Mr. Culler, & her daughter Dolly - & anticipated rather a dull evening - in the course of the evening Mr. Taughn, Doyle, O'Sely, Lisbon, Rebello, Steckelberg & Mr. & Mrs. Rumples, who was the only other lady, besides those enumerated came in - We had a little music on the guitar & piano from Mr. O'Sely - Lizzy played two or three waltzes, & Ma played a little which was the only deviation from monotonous uniformity of the evening - Mr. Taughn lead the way to the card table & was followed by the rest of the company -

& compact crowd, which it almost took my breath to enter," she described the scene in her diary, "I determine[d] ... to take it all calmly" Although Catharine did not partake in the evening's dances, she met with several acquaintances and spent the night "in conversing with intelligent & agreeable friends—& returned home, in great good humour with *myself & all mankind*."⁸ For the next few weeks Catharine continued to detail social outings, although she soon expressed herself "tire[d] of the scene of hurry & confusion" that characterized the capitol's glittering season.⁹ Indeed, only a week after making this notation, perhaps weary of recording the endless round of calls, parties, and dances, she ceased writing in her diary for nearly two years.

Catharine's short-lived enthusiasm for the rituals that marked a well-to-do Washington woman's eligibility for marriage proved to be no obstacle to an engagement. Like most young women in the Old South, Catharine entertained men of her own circle in her family's home, went horseback riding with suitors, and in other informal—although not entirely private—ways sought to establish a relationship of affection and candor with a mate who would be acceptable to her parents. While family name and fortune were desirable, by the nineteenth century most southern parents eschewed such practices as rigid chaperonage and birth-order marriage in order to enable their daughters to select mates for whom they felt romantic love. Thus, while the Wirts expected their third daughter to marry, they largely left the decision of whom to marry up to her.¹⁰

Shortly after the conclusion of Catharine's first season, she had a serious suitor, a Mr. Farley. Farley, apparently a minor military officer of some kind, was shortly to accept an appointment to Paris, and he was eager for an engagement before his departure. In May 1828 he declared himself to Catharine and secured her parents' consent for him to take a miniature of her with him to France.¹¹

While most southern couples formed their engagements without direct parental input, the formality of obtaining parental consent persisted. Farley's appeal to the Wirts, therefore, suggested that he had secured at least a tentative or conditional acceptance from Catharine. Certainly the Wirts considered the exchange of mementos as the symbol of a serious commitment, although not an official engagement; at seventeen years of age, they agreed, Catharine was too young to accept a proposal of marriage. Although not impressed with their prospective son-in-law's credentials—the Wirts were eager for their daughters to marry wealthy and prominent men—they liked Farley well enough. Indeed, their letters suggested that they had adopted the ideal of companionate marriage, in which mutual affection was more important than material considerations in the choice of a marriage partner. Elizabeth, in particular, believed that Catharine and Farley

Opposite: There is no foreshadowing of Catharine's dramatic spiritual conversion in this "account of social calls" she kept in late 1827. (Maryland Historical Society.)

THE
NEW TESTAMENT
OF OUR
LORD AND SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST:
TRANSLATED OUT OF
THE ORIGINAL GREEK;
AND WITH THE
FORMER TRANSLATIONS DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED.

STEREOTYPED BY JAMES CONNER, NEW-YORK.

BALTIMORE:
PUBLISHED BY CUSHING AND SONS, No. 6 HOWARD-STREET.
1829.

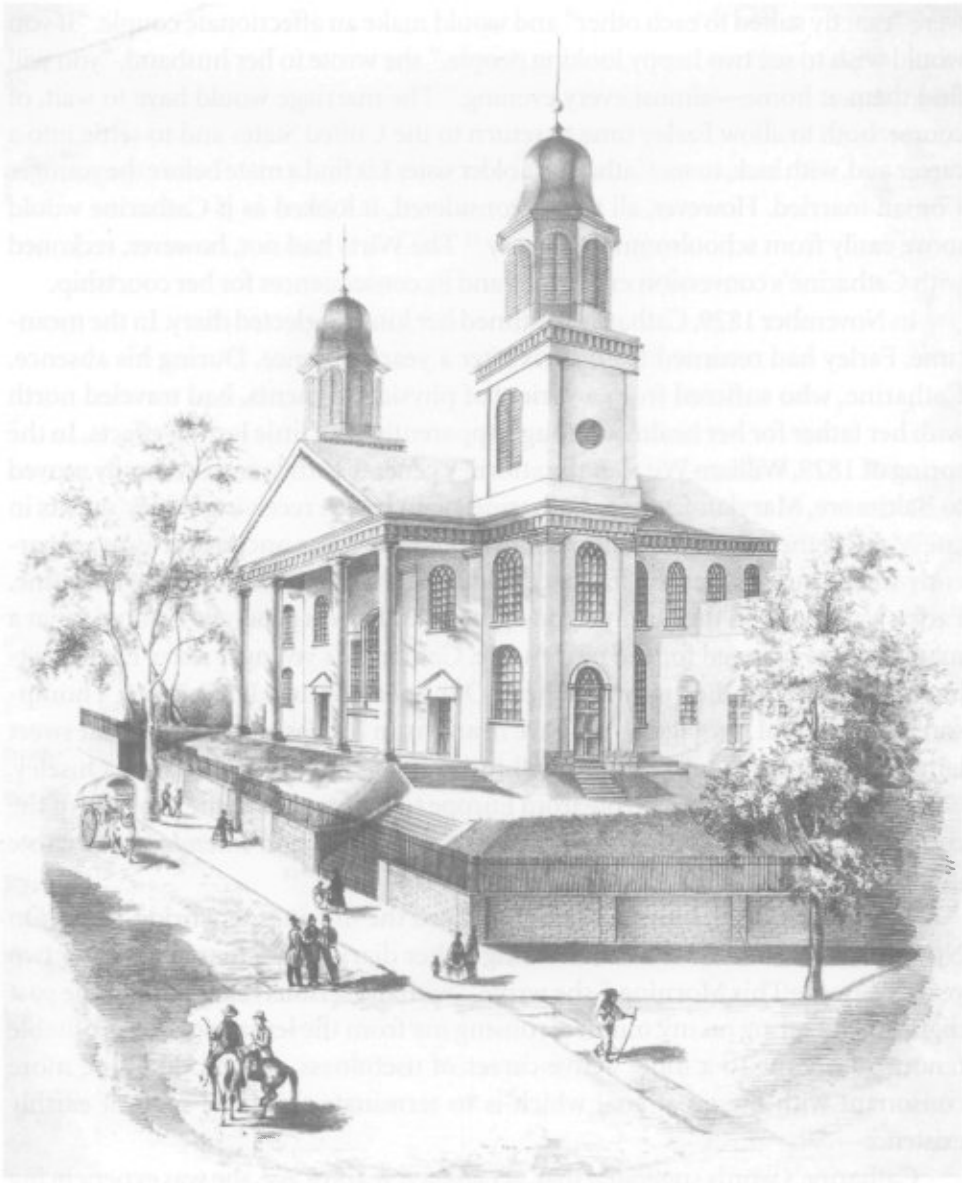
were “exactly suited to each other” and would make an affectionate couple. “If you would wish to see two happy looking people,” she wrote to her husband, “you will find them at home—almost every evening.” The marriage would have to wait, of course, both to allow Farley time to return to the United States and to settle into a career and, with luck, to see Catharine’s older sister Liz find a mate before the younger woman married. However, all things considered, it looked as if Catharine would move easily from schoolroom to nursery.¹² The Wirts had not, however, reckoned with Catharine’s conversion experience and its consequences for her courtship.

In November 1829, Catharine resumed her long-neglected diary. In the meantime, Farley had returned from Paris after a year’s absence. During his absence, Catharine, who suffered from a variety of physical ailments, had traveled north with her father for her health, although apparently with little lasting effects. In the spring of 1829, William Wirt left the attorney general’s office and the family moved to Baltimore, Maryland, where Catharine again began receiving Farley’s visits in late May. By the end of the summer, however, Farley was once again away, apparently to Kentucky, where he had accepted a mapmaking position.¹³ By that time, Farley was clearly in the family’s good graces, and it was generally assumed that a marriage was planned for the near future. Catharine’s younger sister Ellen, writing to her grandmother, informed her: “Our young friends Lts Farley & Thompson left us several days ago.—We have heard from Mr Farley since.—What sweet letters he writes—I am sure you will love him, as we all do.” Marcia Ouseley, Catharine’s closest friend, wrote from Europe to inquire about the progress of the courtship. “By the by Catharine you say nothing about *your Intended*,” she wrote in July; “do tell me when you are to become *Mrs. Farley*.”¹⁴

Catharine’s diary, however, did not record the musings of a bride-to-be. On November 1, 1829, she resumed writing in her diary after a hiatus of nearly two years. “I awoke This Morning,” she wrote, “with the serious reflections of the past night still lingering on my mind, & rousing me from the lethargic & unprofitable tenour of my life to a more active career of usefulness, & a mode of life more consonant with the great goal which is to terminate this little span of earthly existence—.”¹⁵

Catharine’s words suggested that, at eighteen years of age, she was experiencing the first signs of the prolonged religious crisis that would end in her conversion and public declaration of faith. At the time that Catharine kept her diary of spiritual reflections, the Second Great Awakening was sweeping the nation, and Baltimore was no exception. While the first Great Awakening had brought such evangelical groups as Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians to ascendancy in the American colonies in the 1740s and the South’s Great Revival at the turn of the century had

Opposite: Catharine studied the scriptures in search of peace, faith, and spiritual understanding. This Bible, published in 1829, is probably similar to the one she read. (Maryland Historical Society.)



The Wirt family worshipped at the First Presbyterian Church upon their arrival in Baltimore. The religious revivals that shook the nation in the early nineteenth century split the leadership and congregation of this old Baltimore church into competing factions. (Maryland Historical Society.)

reeinforced the importance of evangelism in the Old South, the Second Great Awakening of the 1830s not only represented a rekindling of evangelical fervor but also ushered in an era of millennial vision and perfectionist reform. Catharine's individual quest for personal salvation, then, paralleled a national push for a more perfect—and godly—Union.¹⁶

Catharine had been raised a Presbyterian, and her parents—who had themselves met and married in the midst of the South's Great Revival—undoubtedly considered becoming a professed Christian as important as becoming a blushing bride.¹⁷ In Catharine's case, however, the two goals proved to be antithetical. The strength of this young woman's religious beliefs led her, first, to reject the gaiety of Baltimore society—what evangelicals considered worldly distractions—and, second, to reject her suitor as an unbeliever—a match condemned by many evangelical churches.¹⁸ Thus, Catharine's conversion ultimately cut short her courtship and contributed to her decision to delay marriage considerably beyond the age at which most of her peers entered the bonds of matrimony.

Religious conversion was not an easy alternative, however. Catharine's new diary entries recorded the early stages of the conversion process: self-examination, conviction of sin, and repentance. "My heart, O God! is cold & dead!" she cried. "Quicken it, I pray Thee omnipotent God, with thine own life-giving Spirit!" In accordance with evangelical beliefs, Catharine admitted her own inability to live righteously without divine assistance. "Guide me constantly & uphold me, God, omniscient & omnipresent, that I fall not into sin!" she exclaimed. In particular, she bemoaned her attraction to the things of this world, which distracted her from thoughts of the heaven to come. "My frail & weak heart relapses with unchristian eagerness at every temptation!" she repented. "At this moment, I feel profoundly the utter folly & emptiness of every pursuit of my life! They are all blindly bounded to the contracted horizon, of this petty world," she concluded.¹⁹

In the following months, Catharine kept a daily schedule of her "amended plan of life," recording her early rising, daily devotions, and her continued attempts at intellectual improvement.²⁰ The beginning of the new year prompted renewed concern for the state of her soul. "Eighteen Anniversary's of this season have seen my brief span of existence crowned with temporal blessings," she reflected on New Year's Day, 1830, but "'Alas! how few returns of Love hath my Creator found!'—A partial sense of this cold ingratitude has at intervals overwhelmed with affliction," she wrote, "& many & heart-felt have been my resolves & petitions for amendment—but the influence of this Spirit has, alas, been too short-lived—& the thoughtless gaiety of the world in which I have mingled, has overthrown the feeble barrier raised against its supremacy . . ." In her eighteenth year, Catharine gave serious thought to the ill effects of her participation in "the thoughtless gaiety of the world." "Am I not warned by the fleeting nature of all objects around me of the little time God in his mercy may Yet add to my Earthly career," she demanded of herself. "I know & feel that with my present state of sentiment & mode of life the great object of my existence is forgotten—& that so long as spiritual things are neglected for the gratification of the foolish desires which form this unworthy substitute, I am not preparing for Heaven," she answered, resolving to abandon the "obstinate reckless folly" of devoting "the short-lived bloom of this

summer of life" to worldly pleasures. "O God! give me energy & constancy to lead a life more pleasing to thy immaculate purity," she prayed, "& o grant, that this opening Year may, when it follows its predecessor's fate, & gives way to the Embryo Year, find me a new creature[.]"²¹

In the following weeks, Catharine continued to receive visits from Farley, who was living in Georgetown and had taken his place in the Wirt family as the women's escort when they traveled between Baltimore and Washington.²² However, Catharine's diary recorded her growing disillusionment with the "tedious list of visits" and other social occasions that characterized the winter season. With the single-mindedness of a new convert, she shunned all activities that did not direct her thoughts heavenward. A week after her new year's resolutions, Catharine declined an invitation to a party, devoting the evening instead to "a most philosophical conversation on the shortness of life, the certainty of death, & the momentousness of eternity."²³

Throughout the winter of 1829–30, Catharine continued to ponder "the shortness of life, the certainty of death, & the momentousness of eternity." Her daily diary became a record of her intense self-scrutiny. "Let us each ask ourselves at the close of the day—what have I done this day of wh[ich] I shall be ashamed at the great day of judgement? what have I done this day to promote God's glory?" Examining her life, Catharine again concluded that she was insufficiently grateful to God. "I acknowledge with deep humility & shame how often I have wandered from Thee," she mourned, "how cold & languid my faith & love—how formal my prayers—I am altogether unworthy—vile & full of sin."²⁴

Catharine's rigorous attempts to account for her actions in God's eyes prompted her to reject the rituals of courtship. It would be "inexcusable," she felt, "if, notwithstanding the hours of thought I have expended on this subject, & my many resolutions to dedicate this prime of my life to thy service, o my god, I pass it in vanity[.]" "Vanity" was a sin particularly abhorred by southern evangelicals, and as a young woman in society, Catharine felt herself particularly vulnerable to its temptations. As a result, avoiding "vanity" led Catharine to avoid many of the amusements of the season. At an evening party in mid-January, she startled her former admirers with the declaration that she no longer cared for dancing, and returned home early. Indeed, for Catharine, avoiding vanity and shunning worldliness amounted to an abdication of her previous role as a belle. In January 1830, a comment from one of her would-be dance partners aptly summed up Catharine's changed manner. "Miss Wirt," the gentleman said, "I shd. like to have seen you some time ago—for if you are so fascinating now that you take so little pains to make yourself charming—what a heart-breaker you must have been when you were not so indifferent about pleasing."²⁵

Catharine remained "indifferent about pleasing" the gentlemen of her acquaintance until February, when Farley arrived for a visit. "Mr F. having arrived from

Washington [I] closed my books & devoted myself to his entertainment," she recorded in her diary. A social evening with her intended husband did not leave Catharine in a pleasant frame of mind, however. Rather, the following weeks were a time of serious self-examination. "I feel as if I had lost all my energies & the tone of my system is much depressed," she lamented in her diary. "What is the meaning of this struggle in my feelings—this counter-prompting of my head & my heart," she demanded of herself.²⁶

For many young women in antebellum America, engagement served as a final test of a relationship. Typically, women postponed the wedding date, mindful that once contracted, marriages were not easily dissolved. Indeed, many young women experienced a "marriage trauma" as they contemplated the prospect of exchanging the relative freedom of young womanhood for the responsibilities—and legal disabilities—of married life.²⁷ For Catharine Wirt, religious faith both intensified her marriage crisis and offered her an escape from it.

Catharine's diary entries for the early months of 1830 suggest that she was attempting to make a major decision about her relationship with Farley, a decision that pitted her desires against her parents' counsel. From the Wirts' correspondence, it is unclear whether Catharine's parents wished for their daughter to continue or end her relationship with Farley; however, it is clear that Catharine found it difficult to follow her beloved parents' advice. "My head tells me that this w[oul]d be an imprudent & rash step—in the eyes of the world, as well as that of my dear parents—& that I may bitterly repent it when regret will be unavailing," she wrote, "but at the very moment when I am resolving to abide firmly by their judgment . . . it seems like severing my heart . . . 'Tis a hard alternative."²⁸

Catharine turned to religion for guidance in this difficult passage of her life. "The path of happiness is only found in the conscientious & unvarying discharge of duty," she pondered, "but that duty is sometimes not obvious to us short sighted mortals. . . . O my God, my kind & tender Father, enlighten me on the course Thou w[oul]dst have me to pursue." However, Catharine's diary ended in February with no "definite conclusion" to the matter,²⁹ although she was more determined than ever to avoid the snares of worldliness. In late February, after an appointment with a dressmaker, she resolved: "Instead of wasting our precious fleeting days in pursuit [of] the phantoms of the world, which elude our grasp, & will leave their possessors for ever poor[,] we shd. employ ourselves in seeking forgiveness of sin & an inheritance in heaven."³⁰

Catharine's religious feelings continued to deepen in the following months. During the summer of 1830 she became very ill. Her anxiety about the state of her soul, according to her mother, exacerbated her poor health. "The subject has occupied her . . . to the injury of her health," Elizabeth worried, "she looked a good deal worsted . . . thin and weak." Although a sojourn to New Jersey's Cape May in July did not improve Catharine's health, her state of mind improved when she



William Wirt (1772-1834) worried that his daughter's religious crisis would undermine her already fragile physical health. (Maryland Historical Society.)

determined to join her parents' Presbyterian church that summer. Both the family's letters and Catharine's decision to formally join the church indicate that the troubled young woman had at last attained the emotional well-being of a convert. "She wishes much to become a communicant," Elizabeth wrote to her mother, "having of late very happily made up her mind as to her duty in that respect."³¹

Catharine apparently had also made up her mind about Farley, for in September 1830 the family was eagerly making plans for her wedding, scheduled for November. "Ma says I must tell you that the 1st of November seems to be the time that Catharine seems to have fixed on for the fulfilment of her engagement of two years," her sister Rosa informed their grandmother. "Although in a *pecuniary point of view* she does not think that she is more prepared for it than she was two years ago, yet as an engagement is a thing that must either come to an end *or to a point*, that it may as well be consummated."³²

But the wedding was not "consummated" as planned. In October, Catharine's wedding was delayed in order to coordinate it with her older sister Liz's wedding. Following the ceremony, Catharine and Farley planned to move to Jefferson County, Florida, where Catharine's older sister Laura and her husband, Thomas Randall, had settled several years earlier.³³ As the date for the wedding drew near, however, Catharine's determination—and her health—wavered. Catharine languished in bed while her parents consulted with Farley on the couple's wedding plans. Although eager to see Catharine married, her parents decided to delay the ceremony until the spring in consequence of her poor health.³⁴

Catharine, however, appears to have desired a more permanent postponement of marriage. While “sick in bed for several days,” Catharine wrote a letter to her father (not preserved) that prompted him to reassure her that he would not force her to marry against her will. “Heaven formed you for a married state,” he asserted, but “it is my desire to see you married as soon as you can *perfectly please yourself*—and not one moment sooner.” Although Catharine’s diary was silent on this issue, her father’s response indicated that her misgivings about marriage may have been related to a crisis of faith. Like many new converts, Catharine continued to struggle with feelings of unworthiness, leading her to seek guidance from her heavenly father as well as her earthly one. Indeed, her father encouraged her to do so in his reply to her query. “It is my desire,” he wrote, “as it is my duty to see you *happily* married—but I can never consent to see you married till your own heart wholly consents to it—May God bless & direct you[.]”³⁵

Shortly thereafter, events took a turn that the entire family—but especially Catharine—took as a sign of divine direction. In late December Catharine’s youngest sister, sixteen-year-old Agnes, died suddenly. The planned weddings were postponed while the family mourned their loss.³⁶ Farley dutifully made himself available for the family’s needs, accompanying William Wirt on a business trip to Washington in January and taking it upon himself to send the family regular news of his health. Catharine was grateful for Farley’s attentions. “We received today Mr. Farley’s sweet letter,” she wrote in January, “we all love him more than ever for his kindness to us all, & especially for his consoling & active attentions to our dearest Father.”³⁷

Despite her words, Catharine was in no hurry to unite herself in marriage to her helpful suitor. To the contrary, her thoughts were fully occupied by religion. As 1831 opened, Catharine was once again wrestling with her conscience. “Our lamb Catharine will I fear sink under the efforts she is making,” her father worried in a letter to Elizabeth. “Her spirit, I fear, is too strong for her flesh—she seems to be devoting herself, a willing victim, on the altar of your peace—her soul is divided between you and Heaven—and the conflict of sensibility is too fierce and consuming for her delicate frame—her ardent and agitated spirit is burning out her system[.]”³⁸ As she emerged from her personal trials, Catharine believed that her difficulties had purified her soul. Writing to her grandmother, she explained, “We are, I trust by the grace of God, no longer the giddy thoughtless lovers of pleasure we once were—I speak for myself when I say that those frivolous gratifications which once made my heart beat with delight, seem now to me as folly—and this feeling is not, I think, the mere natural and transient effect of grief at the loss of a beloved sister, but the influence of God’s Holy Spirit producing a radical change in my sinful heart.”³⁹ Catharine was happier and more assured of salvation, she told her father, than she had ever been in her life. “Oh, my Father, never never until I experienced this change of heart did I know what true peace, true happiness is,” she rejoiced.⁴⁰

The “radical change” in Catharine’s heart affected more than the state of her soul. Evangelicals conceptualized conversion as the exchange of a cold, dead heart for a living, feeling one; this “change of heart” was necessary in order for a convert to accept God’s grace. While both men and women experienced conversion, the rite of passage had particular meaning for women, who thereby achieved an identity in which intellect and faith were more important than appearance and domesticity. Conversion was a statement of women’s independence from men at the same time that it was an acknowledgement of man’s dependence on God.⁴¹ Thus, the “radical change” in Catharine’s relationship with God also allowed her to experience a “change of heart” with respect to her relationship with her suitor.

Without commenting on her marriage plans, Catharine devoted 1831 to the duties of a “protestant nun,” teaching the Bible to the family’s slaves, educating her younger siblings at home, reading devotional works, participating in local charities, and finally moving to Washington to care for her ailing father while he attended court in the capitol. Catharine’s activities as a single daughter at home were typical of other women both North and South, and may have indicated the young convert’s growing reluctance to commit herself to marriage. Catharine’s own health remained uncertain, and in the summer she traveled to Maryland’s eastern shore and to the Virginia springs in search of healing.⁴²

While Catharine ministered to her failing physical health, she also devoted significant attention to her spiritual health. After nearly two years of intense self-scrutiny, Catharine continued to struggle with feelings of sin and unworthiness. “I confess before Thee my utter unworthiness of Thy forgiving mercy—& that every propensity of my heart is sinful,” she wrote in her diary. “I mourn over my sins of omission & commission—I feel that eternal perdition would be the just reward of my ungrateful return to all thy compassionate goodness—but oh! the thought of Eternal separation from my God & my Saviour is inexpressibly dreadful to me. . . . help me now thy weak ignorant child to make a sincere unreserved dedication of my whole heart to Thee!”⁴³

At some point in the summer of 1831 (her diary remained silent on the subject), Catharine came to the decision that an “unreserved dedication of [her] whole heart” to God could not be reconciled with her plans to marry Farley. Her intended husband, Catharine confided to her friend Marcia Ouseley that fall, was “a confirmed deist.”⁴⁴ Of course marriage to an unbeliever was unthinkable, and in June 1831, after more than three years of engagement, Catharine severed all connections with her former suitor.

Catharine’s decision met with surprising support from her parents, including her mother. Elizabeth Wirt explained the affair in a letter to her own mother in early June. As “a decided Christian,” Elizabeth explained, Catharine had resolved that “it would be wrong to unite herself to one of so opposite a faith—that she could not expect the blessing of Heaven upon such a union—and that it would be

impossible for her to find happiness with so uncongenial a spirit." Now freed from her commitment to Farley, Catharine was able to dedicate all her energies to "constant preparation" for heaven. "Religion is with her the all-encompassing subject of interest," observed her mother. Far from pressuring her twenty-year-old daughter to marry, Elizabeth praised Catharine as a "heavenly child." Like other converts, once her crisis of faith had passed, Catharine was able to devote less time to self-scrutiny and more time to serving others. "Her's is a religion of enthusiasm, of hope, of joy," her mother explained. "Nor does it unfit her for the duties of life, on the contrary, she is cheerful and diligent in the discharge of all her duties." Elizabeth seemed content that her third daughter's "duties of life" would be at home, in the service of her family. Catharine was a "great comfort to her Father," her mother commented. All in all, Elizabeth was well pleased with her daughter's determination. "The decision which her conscience has dictated, I have no doubt is for the best," she concluded.⁴⁵

Catharine's own writings made it clear that her decision not to marry Farley had relieved her from a heavy burden. Throughout the fall of 1831, Catharine's diary reflected her preoccupation with spiritual matters. Unlike her earlier entries, those recorded after discarding her suitor suggested that Catharine had at last found peace of mind. She recorded her renewed assurance of her "covenant" with God: "Today, thank God! I am in a much happier frame of mind than I have been for a long time," she wrote in September. "My conscience is more tender—my heart more vigilant & prayerful, my longings after holiness more fervent; my hatred of Sin more ab[h]orrent. . . . I thank God, that this day has been so profitable to my Soul—I do feel a hope of acceptance, vile as I am, in Christ Jesus!"⁴⁶

Catharine's devotion to religion, while not interfering with her family duties, prevented her from resuming the life of a belle. She regretted every moment given to "worldly conversation" and the "thousand petty cares & distractions" of daily life. "I longed to be released from the distracting & absorbing cares of Earth, & enter on the praises & never-ending devotions & enjoyment of heaven," she reflected in the fall of 1831. "I long for the time when, in Heaven, all our talk shall be of the Lamb who redeemed us—all our thoughts & affections serene, pure & holy as the theme wh[ich] will engage us throughout eternity."⁴⁷

Increasingly, Catharine withdrew from society in order to contemplate the state of her soul. "Alas! how far have I lived from my God and Saviour for many weeks past!" she lamented in September 1831. "They have not been in all my thoughts—they have been filled with vain and foolish imagination: how has the enjoyment of the empty admiration of worldly people made my heart to leap—and the desire to win this admiration influenced all my thoughts, words and actions—and banished the holy Spirit from my guilty heart[.]"⁴⁸ Henceforth, Catharine resolved, she would avoid the company of "worldly people" in order to devote more of her time and thoughts to God. "Oh, how my heart revolts now

Continuation of Diary

October 30. 1831. Monday.

"Oh Lord grant that this exercise may prove beneficial to my Soul - that it may be one means of making me more vigilant throughout the day - that none of my thoughts, words or works may displease thee - that my time be not wasted in sloth & inaction & that I may ever bear in mind that "Life is the time to serve the Lord the time to use the best words & that "the night of death cometh, wherein no man can work." O Lord may this reflection stir me up to greater diligence in the Christian race. I may do all things to thy glory & my Soul's Salvation for Christ's sake - amen. !

Rose at Seven - dress - devotion - I writing till breakfast - my heart enlarged in prayer. I spent the whole day in copying for my dear Father & assisting her mother with her Greek words for the 8th edition of Flora's Dictionary - but felt peaceful & happy in these occupations - I when I laid down at night - felt resigned & willing never to open my eyes again on this world if it were my heavenly Father's will, for I longed to be with my Saviour.

Tuesday Oct. 31. 1831.

Rose at six, I walked to take leave of my dear Father who went this morning to Annapolis for a few days. felt happy in pouring out my gratitude to God for all his mercies - in confessing my short-comings & begging his favours - I in making known to Him my wants as to a kind indulgent Parent. Read I wrote till breakfast - read & copied all the morning & was with Him at 11.

By October 1831, Catharine's writings reflected her deep commitment to a religious life of "single blessedness." All traces of the high-spirited debutante are gone. (Maryland Historical Society.)

from entering into the frivolous conversation & amusements of the fashionable world," she wrote in October 1831. "Wd. that I cd. exclude myself from the Society of all but engaged Christians for in that only & in communion with my God & Saviour do I find any true happiness."⁴⁹

Catharine's preoccupation with religion and concern for avoiding "worldly

people” made it nearly impossible for her to find another prospective mate. Much to her mother’s chagrin, Catharine spent most of 1832 caring for her father, first in Washington and then at the Virginia Springs. “I think you do wrong to seclude yourself from society entirely,” worried Elizabeth. “I see no reason—why you should not go into agreeable society, health & weather permitting.”⁵⁰ Elizabeth’s remonstrations were to no avail, however. Catharine settled into the life of a confirmed spinster, devoting herself to her parents’ health, her younger siblings’ education, and to assisting her mother in housekeeping. By August 1833, when her brother-in-law Alexander Randall proposed to her, she had made herself so indispensable to the family that her parents no longer urged her to marry. “I certainly do not desire to see you married unless you are thereby greatly to increase your happiness & your comfort,” her mother wrote. “Even then, it would be a hard, hard trial to your parents to part with such a child.”⁵¹ In October, when Catharine firmly rejected her suitor, her father approved; “do not force your own heart,” he counseled, “let it speak freely & for itself.”⁵²

Catharine continued to begrudge every moment devoted to society. In December 1833, she entertained two gentlemen at home by reading a sermon aloud. Nonetheless, she noted, she “regretted that the whole strain of the conversation was not strictly religious.” A few weeks later, Catharine again expressed her regret that, between making and receiving visits, she had only “a few moments for serious reflection just before dinner. But oh that I c[oul]d find more—time is flying, & how little of it can I reserve for the preparation for Eternity!” In January 1834, Catharine renewed her covenant with God. “Lord, shew me what to avoid, & give me grace to forsake it—and, oh, point out clearly my line of duty,” she prayed.⁵³

Catharine’s line of duty seemed clear when, the following month, her father died, leaving Elizabeth a widow with five children still living at home. Catharine moved with her mother first to the Gamble home in Richmond and then, in 1837, to the Florida cotton plantation that had been William’s legacy to his widow.⁵⁴ For the next five years, she devoted herself to her mother’s welfare and her younger siblings’ education. Her diary, now sporadic, continued to record her attempts to learn and live God’s will. In 1835 she again vowed to forsake “Sensual pleasures” and “worldly mindedness” and devote herself to serving “the poor & needy.”⁵⁵ Two years later, she marked out daily schedules for herself, dedicating time to religious devotions, sewing, and to her younger brothers’ French lessons, as well as to her own studies (primarily sacred readings) and music. Each week, she set aside several hours for “serious meditation & self examination.”⁵⁶

Catharine’s religious readings and musings in these years were a source of strength and encouragement for this single southern woman. In mid-1835, in one of the last entries in her diary, she copied “Texts of Scripture going to prove the equality & immortality of women.”⁵⁷ Her selections suggested that for Catharine, as for other southern women, religion offered an alternative standard of woman-

hood that enabled her to view her anomalous position as an adult daughter at home with equanimity and even pleasure. Perhaps, like some northern spinsters, she even felt that her single status made her a better Christian by enabling her to devote more of her energies to God's work.⁵⁸

For more than five years, from 1829 through 1834, Catharine Wirt used her diary of religious reflections to order her world and relied on her faith in God to guide her through the perilous passage from girlhood to womanhood. Although her quest for religion often caused Catharine anxiety and even anguish, piety also offered her an alternative to marriage. Religion permitted this young woman to evade courtship, end an engagement, and establish a place for herself as a Christian daughter, sister, and neighbor.

Once these ends had been accomplished, Catharine's desperate need for divine support and guidance may have lessened; she ceased keeping her diary in 1834, although she made additional notations through 1837. Because of this, and because her family's previously voluminous papers grew sketchy after William's death, it is impossible to know what role religion played in the remaining years of this southern woman's life.

Catharine Wirt did eventually marry. She remained in Florida with her mother until 1842, when, at the comparatively late age of thirty-one, she married her old suitor, Alexander Randall. The Randalls, accompanied by Elizabeth Wirt, set up housekeeping in Annapolis, Maryland, where Catharine bore two children before her death from breast cancer in 1853.⁵⁹

CATHARINE WIRT'S DIARY AND OTHER WRITINGS demonstrate the liberating potential of evangelical religion for southern women. Although religious prescriptions could reinforce social dictates, Christianity also offered women a set of standards for their lives that might conflict with—and even supersede—the expectations of their parents, kin, and neighbors. For Catharine Wirt, religion was a source of identity and strength that allowed her to circumvent the rituals of courtship, defer marriage, and devote more than ten years to a life of “single blessedness.”⁶⁰

NOTES

1. For quotations, see *Diary of Catharine G. Wirt*, *Miscellaneous Papers of Catharine G. Wirt*, *William Wirt Papers*, microfilm edition, reel 24, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland (hereafter CGW Diary), November 14, 1827, November 1, 1829. Catharine kept the diary of her debut in November 1827; she resumed the diary with an account of her journey north in August 1828; and she began her religious diary in November 1829. This diary continued until 1834, with additional notations through 1837, although there are several significant gaps. Dates generally refer to the dates of the events recorded, rather than to the dates that the entries were made. The diary's pages are not in sequence, and several dates have more than one entry.

2. See especially Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 162–63; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 269–71; Jean E. Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 49–52; Joanna Bowen Gillespie, “1795: Martha Laurens Ramsay’s ‘Dark Night of the Soul,’” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 48 (January 1991): 68–92; Gillespie, “Mary Briscoe Baldwin (1811–1877), Single Woman Missionary and ‘Very Much My Own Mistress,’” *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 57 (1988): 63–92; Gillespie, “The Clear Leadings of Providence: Pious Memoirs and the Problems of Self-Realization for Women in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 5 (1985): 197–221; Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), chap. 4; Cynthia Kierner, “Martha Hancock Wheat: Piety within Patriarchy,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 100 (1992), 78–98; and Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), chap. 5. As Gillespie points out, religious musing also offered women a framework within which to understand their inner mental state, something that was clearly important to Catharine Wirt, a sensitive young woman who suffered from severe depression.
3. All background is taken from Anya Jabour, *Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). See also Jabour, “Hearts Divided: The Marriage and Family of Elizabeth and William Wirt, 1802–1834” (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1995).
4. For Catharine’s education, see Anya Jabour, “‘Grown Girls, Highly Educated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” *Journal of Southern History*, 64 (1998), 23–64.
5. Diary-keeping was a common practice for southern girls. Catharine does not record her reasons for keeping a diary, but like many southern women, she devoted most of it to self-scrutiny. Catharine’s religious diary, unlike her travel journals, which she shared with her parents, siblings, and friend Marcia Ouseley, appears to have been private. On young women’s diary-keeping in the Old South, see especially Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 247–50.
6. The Certificate, March 1827, for Catharine’s school prize, is located in the Miscellaneous Papers of Catharine G. Wirt. On Catharine’s continued lessons at home, see Jabour, “Hearts Divided,” 290.
7. Comments made by Catharine’s older married sister Laura indicated that the official debut did not occur until January 1, 1828; however, the Wirts’ letters for that period do not remark on this event, but rather on Catharine’s delicate health. See Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth and William Wirt, November 26–December 1, 1827; and Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, January 3, 1828, William Wirt Papers, Maryland Historical Society. William Wirt wrote requesting an account of the debut, but it is not recorded. See William Wirt to Elizabeth Wirt, January 7, 1828, Wirt Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
8. CGW Diary, November 14, 1827. Emphasis in the original.
9. CGW Diary, November 21, 1827. Mary Baldwin similarly was soon tired of “seeking pleasure.” See Gillespie, “Mary Briscoe Baldwin,” 71.
10. On courtship in the South and elsewhere, see especially Jane Turner Censer, *North Carolina Planters and Their Children, 1800–1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 65–68, 78–95; Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (New York: Basic Books,

1984); Daniel Scott Smith, "Parental Power and Marriage Patterns: An Analysis of Historical Trends in Hingham, Massachusetts," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35 (1973): 419–28; and Wylma Wates, "Precursor to the Victorian Age: The Concept of Marriage and Family as Revealed in the Correspondence of the Izard Family of South Carolina," in Carol Bleser, ed., *In Joy and in Sorrow: Women, Family, and Marriage in the Victorian South, 1830–1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3–14. For contrasting views of courtship, see Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 59–65; and Steven M. Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), chap. 2.

11. For discussions of the courtship, see Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, April 27, 1828; William Wirt to Laura Wirt Randall, May 2, 1828; Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, May 6, 26, 27, June 1, 10, 1828; and Marcia Ouseley to Catharine G. Wirt, July 24, 1828, Wirt Papers, MHS.

12. For quotations, see Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, April 27 and May 6, 1828, Wirt Papers, MHS.

13. On Catharine's health, see, for example, William Wirt to Elizabeth Wirt, October 3, 1828; on Farley's return and plans, see Catharine G. Wirt to William Wirt, May 27, 1829; Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, June 17, 19, 22, 1829, Wirt Papers, MHS. Catharine recorded the trip north in her "Memoranda of my journey to the North . . . in the year 1828," [ca. 1828–34], Miscellaneous Papers of Catharine G. Wirt, Wirt Papers, MHS.

14. Ellen Wirt to Catharine Gamble, July 27, 1829; and Marcia Ouseley to Catharine G. Wirt, July 8, 1829, Wirt Papers, MHS.

15. CGW Diary, November 1, 1829.

16. See especially Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Rutherford, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986); John B. Boles, *The Great Revival, 1787–1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millenium: Society and Revivals in Rochester New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Donald G. Matthews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); and Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

17. In addition to Jabour, *Marriage in the Early Republic*, see Jabour, "Hearts Divided"; and S. A. Link, "William Wirt, the Christian Lawyer," *Methodist Quarterly Review*, 57 (October 1908): 740–3.

18. As Heyrman points out, evangelicals embraced "a stark alternative to the region's traditional culture" and distrusted the "false and harsh world dominated by materialism, rivalry, and aggression." This meant that "evangelicals drew people away from the familiar settings of sociability" and regarded such activities as drinking and dancing as "sinful frivolities that set men and women on the path to hell." See Heyrman, *Southern Cross*, 19. Methodists disciplined female members who married unbelievers. Moreover, they censured women for wearing costly apparel. See Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind*, 98–99.

19. CGW Diary, November 1, 1829. The stages of the conversion process were the same for both men and women, although women's diaries may have laid more emphasis on self-examination and self-recrimination. On conversion, see Anne C. Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800–1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 4–16. For women's religious diary-keeping, see Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 162–63; Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 247–52.

20. CGW Diary, November 2, 1829.
21. CGW Diary, January 1, 1830. As Loveland points out, youth was a stage that often coincided with conviction of sin. See *Southern Evangelicals*, 6.
22. See, for example, William Wirt to Elizabeth Wirt, February 1, 1830; Rosa Wirt to William Wirt, February 7 and May n.d., 1830, Wirt Papers, MHS.
23. CGW Diary, January 8, 1830. See also Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 14. Similarly, Mary Baldwin shunned social life in order to devote herself to preparation for missionary work. See Gillespie, "Mary Briscoe Baldwin," 72.
24. CGW Diary, January 8, 1830.
25. CGW Diary, January 17–19, 1830. On vanity, see Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 95–98; and Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind*, 99.
26. CGW Diary, January 30 and February 14, 1830.
27. On the "marriage trauma," see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 80–83; for a southern example, see Jabour, "'It Will Never Do for Me to Be Married': The Life of Laura Wirt Randall, 1803–1834," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 17 (1997), 193–236, especially 215–28. Like her sister, Laura also experienced health problems that were related to her anxiety over marriage.
28. CGW Diary, February 14, 1830. Unfortunately, the Wirts' usually copious and candid correspondence is silent on this point. Given the Wirts' attitudes during their older daughter Laura's courtship, it is equally likely that they wished Catharine to consummate or to end the engagement. On Laura Wirt's courtship, see Jabour, "'It Will Never Do for Me to be Married,'" 221–7.
29. CGW Diary, February 8, 15, 16, and 17, 1830.
30. CGW Diary, [ca. February 20, 1830].
31. Elizabeth Wirt to Catharine Gamble, June 27, July 26 (quotations), August 16, 1830; see also William Wirt to Elizabeth Wirt, July 29, 1830; and Catharine G. Wirt to Elizabeth Wirt, July 30, 1830, Wirt Papers, MHS. See also CGW Diary, July 2, 3, 1830; and William Wirt to Elizabeth G. Wirt, July 18, 1830; Agnes Wirt to Catharine Gamble, July 24, 1830; and Elizabeth Wirt postscript to Agnes Wirt to William Wirt, July 30, 1830, Papers of William Wirt, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter Wirt Papers, LC). Also see Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 12–13.
32. Rosa Wirt to Catharine Gamble, September 24, 1830, Wirt Papers, MHS.
33. Rosa Wirt to Catharine Gamble, October 16 and 30, November 27, 1830; Thomas Randall to William Wirt, November 22, 1830, Wirt Papers, MHS.
34. Agnes Wirt to William Wirt, November 19, 1830, and postscript by Elizabeth Wirt; William Wirt to Agnes Wirt, December 18, 1830; Elizabeth Wirt postscript to Agnes Wirt to William Wirt, December 19, 1830, Wirt Papers, LC.
35. William Wirt to Rosa Wirt, December 14, 1830; and William Wirt to Catharine G. Wirt, December 17, 1830, Wirt Papers, MHS. See also Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, 12–13.
36. See, for example, Laura Wirt Randall to Elizabeth Wirt, March 8, 1831, Wirt Papers, MHS.
37. Catharine G. Wirt to William Wirt, January 10, 1831, Wirt Papers, MHS. See also Catharine G. Wirt, postscript to William Jr., Dabney, and Wirt to William Wirt, February 14 and 20, 1831, Wirt Papers, LC.
38. William Wirt to Elizabeth Wirt, January 4, 1831, Wirt Papers, MHS.
39. Catharine G. Wirt to Catharine Gamble, January 22, 1831, Wirt papers, MHS.

40. Catharine G. Wirt to William Wirt, February 25, 1831, Wirt Papers, MHS.
41. Lysterly writes: "For white southern women . . . conversion wrought a significant change in perceptions of the self and agency. . . . Simply joining the church represented an act of autonomy and self-assertion." See *Methodism and the Southern Mind*, 97, 99, 102, 103, 118.
42. See for example Ellen Wirt to William Wirt, January 9, 1831; Catharine G. Wirt to William Wirt, January 10, 13, 25, February 6, 13, 1831; Elizabeth G. Wirt to William Wirt, January 19, 1831; Elizabeth Wirt to William Wirt, March 13, 1831; Catharine G. Wirt to Catharine Gamble, June 23, August 24, 1831, Wirt Papers, MHS; and Catharine G. Wirt, postscript to William Jr., Dabney, and Wirt to William Wirt, February 14 and 20, 1831, Wirt Papers, LC. The phrase "protestant nun" comes from Sheila M. Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), chap. 2. For single women, see Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty, a Better Husband: Single Women in America: The Generations of 1780–1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), chap. 6; and Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, 85.
43. CGW Diary, September 24, July 17, 1831.
44. Marcia Ouseley to Catharine G. Wirt, August 20, 1832, Wirt Papers, MHS.
45. Elizabeth Wirt to Catharine Gamble, June 5, 1831, Wirt Papers, LC.
46. CGW Diary, September 24, 1831.
47. CGW Diary, September 25, 26, and 27, 1831.
48. CGW Diary, September 24, 1831.
49. CGW Diary, October 4, 1831. Likewise, Mary Baldwin consciously sequestered herself away from "all interruptions from company" except for "a select religious circle." See Gillespie, "Mary Briscoe Baldwin," 72.
50. Elizabeth Wirt to Catharine G. Wirt, February 23, 1832, Wirt Papers, MHS.
51. Elizabeth Wirt to Catharine G. Wirt, August 23, 1833; see also William Wirt to Catharine G. Wirt, August 20, 1833, Wirt Papers, MHS.
52. William Wirt to Catharine G. Wirt, October 3 (quotation), October 4, 1833, Wirt Papers, MHS. The Wirts' support for Catharine's single status was a dramatic contrast to the pressure they exerted on their oldest daughter, Laura, to marry. See Jabour, "It Will Never Do For Me To Be Married."
53. CGW Diary, December 15 and 27, 1833, and January 1, 1834.
54. See Jabour, "'Quite a Woman of Business': Elizabeth Washington Gamble Wirt, 1784–1857," *Virginia Cavalcade*, 99 (2000), 65–75.
55. CGW Diary, February 19, 1835.
56. May 1837 Schedule, Miscellaneous Papers of Catharine G. Wirt, MHS.
57. "Texts of Scripture going to prove the equality & immortality of women," July 1835, Miscellaneous Papers of Catharine G. Wirt, William Wirt Papers, MHS.
58. As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese points out, southern women "turned to religious literature as the ultimate guide to the good life, the ultimate standard for identity, and the ultimate source of comfort," seeking in religious reading "guides for correct conduct in this world and entrance into the next." Fox-Genovese argues that religious prescriptions reinforced social guidelines that women should strive to meet their society's expectations of southern women. However, Catharine's diary in the mid-1830s was less about "confession and self-recrimination" than it was about her assurance that God approved of her actions as a single woman. See Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 270. For other discussions of the self-confidence imbued by religion, see the sources listed in note 2. For single blessedness and piety, see Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty a Better Husband*, 18–21.
59. Catharine G. Wirt to Elizabeth W. Goldsborough, July 28, 1835 and August 25, 1842; Elizabeth Wirt Baker, "Sketch of William Wirt," February 22, 1899, all in Wirt Family Papers,

Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Catharine married significantly later than most southern women. See Clinton, *Plantation Mistress*, Appendix A, 233.

60. The term “single blessedness” is taken from Schiller’s book on northern spinsters, *Liberty a Better Husband*, chap. 1.



The raging Patapsco River early on the morning of June 22, 1972, photographed from the Main Street railroad bridge looking East toward Oella, Baltimore County, Maryland. (Photograph by Keith Weller.)

The Great Patapsco Flood of 1972

WALLACE SHUGG

"That's a right evil stream"

—Omar J. Jones, Howard County Executive, surveying flood damage, June 23, 1972¹

Like the mighty and famous rivers of the world, the Patapsco has been both creator and destroyer. This same river that powered many mills and brought prosperity to its valley has flooded on memorable occasions with amazing speed, bringing death and destruction. It happened on a truly catastrophic scale in 1868 and again almost 104 years later, in 1972. And despite advances in flood control—the ability to dam and to channel, to build levees and literally to move mountains—it could happen again, anytime, because of certain unique features in the terrain.

The river begins its forty-mile journey to Baltimore's harbor basin innocently enough as a trickle from a small farm pond called Parr's Spring just south of Mount Airy. From its elevation there about eight hundred feet above sea level, it gradually descends as it crosses the central plain, widened by its tributaries, until it reaches Woodstock, where its fall becomes steeper. Just above Ellicott City it enters a deep, rocky canyon that extends to Elkridge and concentrates the flow with potentially devastating results in time of flood.²

Real prosperity in the valley began in the early 1770s with the building of the industrial village of Ellicotts Mills (renamed Ellicott City in 1867). As the Industrial Revolution progressed, dams of every description were built to harness the waterpower, especially along the lower, steeper reach of the Patapsco. According to one historian, "the greatest number of dams in the state and perhaps in the country occurs along the nine-mile stretch of river from the railroad community of Relay, just above Elkridge, to the mill complex at Daniels, situated between Ellicott City and Sykesville." There were mills to grind wheat, saw wood, fire iron furnaces and forges, and drive looms for cotton and silk. Commerce in the valley was increased greatly from about the 1840s onward by the nation's first railroad, whose track naturally followed the comparatively level route offered by the river along its banks through the steep, rocky canyons.³

But this beneficent river could also strike without warning. No flood in Maryland history could match that of "Black Friday," July 24, 1868. After a heavy rain

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that morning in the western reaches of the Patapsco, the river at Ellicott City rose five feet in ten minutes, then twenty-five feet in a half hour, finally cresting at an unheard of forty-five feet above normal. Homes and bridges, dams and mills and railroad tracks were swept away, and thirty-nine lives were lost in the valley. Eventually people rebuilt their communities and industries. Despite occasional minor flooding, the next hundred or so years proved relatively peaceful, inevitably giving rise to a feeling of complacency. Then the river struck again with its old power.⁴

On Wednesday, June 21, 1972, tropical storm Agnes entered Maryland from the Florida Panhandle, almost unheeded because it had earlier lost its hurricane-force winds but bringing rain that fell on ground already saturated by a wet spring and sporadic showers of the past several days. As evening came, the rain steadily increased in both duration and intensity, swelling rivers everywhere in the state.⁵

The Patapsco, swollen from the runoff of its numerous tributaries, overflowed the deep cut at Sykesville, growing ever stronger as it began to rush through the valley, plucking logs and other debris from the banks, until it poured into the steep canyon above Ellicott City, becoming an avalanche that hurled itself on the unsuspecting people below. . . .

At Marriotsville around 1:00 A.M., the river flooded the railroad tracks, forcing a B&O crew to abandon their train of 137 empty coal cars at Davis siding. "The water was hitting the cars on the sides, sending spray right over the tops," recalled former brakeman Howard M. Dillow Jr., his voice reflecting the excitement of that night long ago. He and conductor Karl Grosche took refuge in the twenty-ton steel caboose. Presently, Dillow saw water trickling under the door. Opening it, he suddenly found himself in three feet of water. The two men climbed to the roof and stood there through the rainy night. "There wasn't a dry spot on me," Dillow remembered. By the light of his lantern he could see snakes squirming among the roots of trees floating by. After an unsuccessful rescue attempt at daybreak by the West Friendship Fire Department (alerted by the engineer), Dillow heard a helicopter and lit a flare to bring it on in. They were then flown to the National Guard Armory at Ellicott City. When they landed, a sergeant came out to them and asked, "How about a hot cuppa coffee?" Dillow said, "I could have hugged him."⁶

Downstream from Marriotsville, in the old textile mill town of Daniels, maintenance man James Robey became marooned with his family in their house on the western edge of the company property. The power failed and they sat in the darkness through the long night, hearing and feeling the crash of uprooted trees shaking the house to its foundations. Only the nearby railroad trestle seemed to blunt the force of the current and keep the house from being swept away. The rising water drove them to the roof, where they huddled together for warmth. At daybreak they heard an approaching helicopter. Someone—perhaps the watchman who had departed earlier—had told the police of their predicament. When the helicopter hovered within range, Robey handed up his twelve-year-old daughter,



Main Street, Ellicott City, June 22, 1972. (Baltimore News-American photograph, University of Maryland, College Park.)

their cocker spaniel, and his wife, then climbed aboard himself. Before long they were safe at the National Guard Armory with other flood victims. Meanwhile, a mile or so downstream at Quaker Hill on Dogwood Road, thirty-one-year-old James Robey Jr. was leaving for his seven-to-three shift at the Howard County Police Department, where he would remain more or less continuously on duty for the next three days. His first sensation as he stepped outside was “an overpowering odor of mud” from the bottom of the hill, where the waters of the Patapsco and Ben’s Run had joined to flood Hollifield Road. There, unknown to him, a man was still clinging to a telephone pole, the only survivor of a tragedy that had unfolded the night before.⁷

At the Hollifield Inn on the river’s edge late Wednesday evening, owner Harry Shifflett phoned twenty-one-year-old Carroll Greninger Jr. to come and help move his bar stock out of reach of the rising waters. They were later joined by Greninger’s fiancée, nineteen-year-old Gail Stout, and her friend, Elda Nadine Cody. At 1:00 A.M., Greninger called his mother from the bar to let her know where he was—it was the last his family would hear from him. The two young women decided to leave. Minutes later, the two men heard screams from beyond the parking lot. They hurried outside to find the women standing on the roof of Stout’s Volkswagen. In the brief time it took the women to reach the car and start down the road, the

river had jumped its banks and trapped them. All four now took refuge from the rising waters, Shifflett climbing a telephone pole and Greninger holding onto the two women in a nearby tree. When Nadine Cody was swept away, Greninger called above the river's roar to Shifflett, saying he and his fiancée would try to float out of there on a passing log. "I heard him yell to her, 'Catch hold, honey, catch hold,'" said Shifflett, "and she yelled back, 'I can't.'" Then both were gone. Shifflett clung to the pole through the night until his cries for help were heard at dawn by Verla Sue Crocetti and her husband, returning to their house at the bottom of the hill on Dogwood Road. They notified Woodlawn police, who came with a boat and rescued Shifflett. "He was froze," Sue Crocetti said, "and he had brush burns on his forearms where he grasped the pole."⁸

Downstream, near Ellicott City, the flood had already claimed its first victim. During a pause in the rain on Wednesday afternoon, James Leo Vogelsang and Al Granger, both in their early twenties, drove their pickup truck onto River Road near Rosko's Tavern to do some white-water rafting on the swollen Patapsco. They found a clearing on the brush-covered bank and launched their two-man raft. With his jaw still wired from a recent fracture, Granger decided not to expose himself to the cold and exertion. He trotted along River Road, keeping pace with his friend. All went well until Vogelsang reached a submerged dam about a hundred yards above the Simkins Industries plant. "Suddenly, I heard him say, 'Oh, — —,'" Granger recalled, "then he looked at me with a smile, as if he could deal with the problem. But he and the raft were sucked under by the turbulence of the water as it passed over the hidden dam. I ran down the road, looking everywhere, but never saw him again."⁹

The rain returned on Wednesday evening, bringing on the deluge. On hilly Oella Avenue, above Ellicott City, thirty-six-year-old Shirley Mellor, a former barmaid at Rosko's, watched the water whipping over a house-sized boulder on the opposite bank, eventually rising almost to her lawn—"I could have sat on the edge and dangled my feet in it," she recalled. Down the road, fifty-three-year-old John ("Pete") Rest, a worker in nearby Dickey Mill, was less fortunate. Although he had moved his car earlier that night to high ground, he lost first his garage down on the riverbank and then his outhouse higher up. "The water rose so fast," he said, "It seemed they must have opened the gates at Liberty Dam."¹⁰

At about 1:30 A.M., Chris Rosendale, editor of the *Bay Times*, was driving his pickup truck back to the Eastern Shore after having his paper printed in Ellicott City by Stromberg Publications. As he crossed the Patapsco Bridge into Baltimore County, the water surged onto Frederick Road. "First, it was two inches, then six, and I kept driving, trying to get to higher ground." When the water killed his engine, he and his daughter got out and waded to safety. The truck was swept away and with it his entire Thursday edition.¹¹

Around this time, Willard Alvin Maraskey Jr. and Willard Williams were sit-



Howard County officials condemned these two houses on Oella Avenue across the Patapsco from Ellicott City. Note the windows broken by the flood. (Baltimore News-American photograph, June 26, 1972, University of Maryland, College Park.)

ting in their car in front of the Valley View Inn (now the Trolley Stop) near the bridge. A policeman had closed the bar fifteen minutes or so earlier, telling everyone the river was rising. For some reason the men lingered, perhaps hypnotized by the sight and sound of the torrent. A surge of water poured into the parking lot and lifted their car. Standing on her porch on nearby Westchester Avenue, Shirley Phillips saw the car bobbing in the rough current along Frederick Road. "I could see the lighted cigarette of someone behind the wheel," she recalled, "but heard no cries for help." Then the car disappeared.¹²

In a house near the railroad overpass at the bottom of Ellicott City's Main Street, twenty-one-year-old William Healey looked down from the second-story window at cars now floating near the taxi stand. "It was like bumper cars at a carnival," he recalled. Someone in a boat with a bullhorn was telling people to move to higher ground. As the water crept up to the storefronts, he said, "all you could hear was windows breaking. Everyone was thinking, 'If Liberty Dam breaks. . .'" Eventually, he made his way to a refuge on Church Road.¹³

The flooding was worsened by the Tiber River, normally a trickling stream behind the businesses on the south side of Main Street but now itself swollen and



Members of the Elkridge First Baptist Church sorted donated clothing for flood victims. (Baltimore News-American photograph, June 27, 1972, University of Maryland, College Park.)

backed up by the Patapsco. First to go under was Valmas Brothers Restaurant (now the Phoenix), whose owner, seventy-year-old Paul Valmas, became trapped in his second-floor apartment early Thursday morning. He and another man were taken off by two young men in a small boat, but the overloaded boat capsized. Valmas clung to a submerged traffic sign long enough for the others to reach



Aerial view of the flood. (Baltimore News-American photograph, June 23, 1972, University of Maryland, College Park.)

him and haul him by his belt to safety on a nearby garage roof.¹⁴ Eventually, the muddy waters climbed Main Street to Caplan's Department Store and beyond, invading the safety deposit boxes of the Patapsco National Bank, up to Leidig's Bakery (now Fisher's), but stopping short of Bladen Yates's market and hardware store. The latter had remained open to sell candles, flashlights, and batteries needed by residents after the power failed.¹⁵

By this time, uprooted trees and stumps in the stream became jammed against the bridge, creating a dam and pressure that caused structural damage. A trailer truck smashed into the historic stone house built two hundred years earlier by Jonathan Ellicott and recently refurbished, carrying away half of it.¹⁶ A third of a mile down Frederick Road, the current ate away at the soil from the riverbank foundations of Rosko's Tavern, which later collapsed into the river.¹⁷

Further down, on River Road, the rising water had forced Mrs. Robert Frey and her children and dog to flee the house for higher ground. Her husband was working the night shift at the Baltimore Gas & Electric generating station at Westport and returned at daybreak. "I saw water splashing into those gutters," he told a visitor, while pointing to the roof. Twelve years earlier, he and his wife had

built the wooden house—one of the few on the low-lying road—with their own hands, and although the house was wrecked inside, its poured concrete basement kept it anchored throughout the flood.¹⁸

A mile on near the Ilchester Bridge, Simkins Industries, a paperboard factory, suffered “extreme” damage and lost twenty-eight trailer trucks full of merchandise parked around company property. The river also washed away a portion of the railroad bed leading to the nearby tunnel, leaving the tracks twisted and hanging in the air.¹⁹

Below the Ilchester Bridge the avalanche of water roared through the Patapsco Valley State Park that Wednesday night. It tore the superstructure from the Bloede dam, ruptured the sewer interceptor line—releasing raw sewage—and carried away the landmark swinging footbridge in the Orange Grove recreation area. It also damaged beyond repair the park headquarters (contaminating three hundred cases of soda in the basement), wiped out Lost Lake (a fishing pond), the picnic shelters in the Avalon recreation area, and park equipment at the Avalon pumping station. In addition, the flooding waters breached the Avalon dam. “You could hear the river go through like a freight train,” recalled Sister Christina at All Saints Convent, a half-mile up the hill. Former park ranger James (“J.P.”) Preston patrolled the area that night, closing off entrance gates and alerting residents. “The river was having its way,” he said, “all we could do was warn people.”²⁰

At Elkridge, the low-lying intersection of U.S. Route 1 (Washington Boulevard) and the Harbor Tunnel Thruway became a large lake, the treetops looking like shrubbery. Among the hardest hit because closest to the river was the Ingersoll & Rand Equipment Company, which was completely flooded. Three trailer trucks from a company several blocks away smashed into the building. Other nearby businesses, notably Tom’s Gas Stop and Heales Center, were swamped.²¹

Among the stories of rescue in Elkridge that night, the ordeal of Herman Franklin may serve here as a sample. In a small community near Deep Run, a tributary of the Patapsco, Franklin rose at about 3 A.M. “I heard something hit the house,” he recalled, “I looked out and saw the water rising, pulling oil tanks from the sides of houses.” He roused his whole family—mother, wife, six boys, and a girl—and everyone in the neighborhood. Still in their nightclothes, the family made its way to a small boat floated down Church Avenue by the fire department to evacuate them. On a second trip, a wave hit and capsized the overloaded boat. Franklin’s neighbor clamped her arms around his neck and yelled, “Don’t let me drown!” Meanwhile, his young terrier, Dripdrop, had scrambled on top of the overturned boat. Firemen let down a lifeline, which the family clung to in the darkness while another boat was sent for. At last, they made it to a school bus parked on Race Road. But the water kept rising, the bus wouldn’t start, and a National Guard jeep had to pull them to higher ground. Eventually, they were safe in the National Guard Armory with other flood victims, being given coffee, soup,

and sandwiches. "I lost everything," he said, "my house, my two cars, my Hammond organ." And somehow, he and his dog were separated. "I miss that pup, too."²²

Below Elkridge, the swollen river would claim yet another life before the waters receded. Robert L. Somers recalled being awakened Thursday morning by his friend, Charles Bruce Lokey, both recent graduates of Lansdowne High School. "C'mon," Lokey said, "let's get your brother's canoe and have some fun." They tied down the aluminum canoe to the car roof, stocked a cooler with lunchmeat, bread, and soft drinks, and around noon drove to a launching point at the end of Halethorpe Farms Road. There they found the floodwaters calm, protected by a point of land upstream. Once settled in the canoe, they paddled for five minutes about a hundred yards upstream, still in the lee of the land. But when they turned outward, they were hit by the full force of the current, slammed against the top of a high voltage tower, and dumped into the water fully clothed. Somers found himself weighed down and swallowing muddy water. Taking a deep breath, he struggled out of his boots and jacket and started swimming for shore with overhand strokes. "We were swimming together at first, but then became separated," he said, "I did not see Bruce again." The current was pulling Somers away from shore. His arms, cramped with fatigue, suddenly stretched over his head involuntarily. "I floated on my back to conserve strength," he said. In that position he could see the wires running parallel to the shore, giving him a sense of direction. He resumed swimming until he bumped into a submerged fence on which he sat until his strength returned. He reached shore at last, gasping, and vomiting water. Twenty-six years after the incident, Somers mused, "We thought it would be a fun thing to do. It turned out to be a stupid thing, but we were young and ignorant of the power of the river."²³

The floodwaters crested Thursday morning, washing out or rendering impassable every bridge leading into Howard County except those across interstate highways 70 and 95, and U.S. 40. By early that afternoon, the waters began to recede, and it was clear to everyone that the worst was over. In his house overlooking Frederick Road, Asa Windsor would go back to bed at last after a long night watching the waters cover his driveway and stop short of his house. The 358 flood evacuees in the National Guard Armory began leaving at 1:30 P.M., anxious to see what was left of their homes, and by 3:00 P.M., only a handful were still there. Rescue teams manning helicopters, boats, trucks, school buses, and patrol cars could get some much-needed rest.²⁴

By Friday morning the waters had receded enough for organized search and cleanup operations to begin. State troopers, Baltimore County police, and the family and friends of Carroll Greninger Jr. formed groups and systematically searched the Hollifield area of the Patapsco Valley State Park, poking with metal rods or wooden sticks under the water, mud, and underbrush for bodies. Greninger's brother and friends found his body around mid-morning—still clad

in dungarees and black leather boots, but bare to the waist—on the east side of the river at the I-70 overpass. They continued their search for the two young women for several days, all the way to the river's mouth, looking through piles of stumps, brush, cars and trucks on the muddy banks. "It was a case of hoping you would find them, then again not," recalled Carroll Greninger Sr.²⁵

On that same Friday morning, the body of white-water rafter James Leo Vogelsang was discovered two hundred feet above Ilchester Bridge and removed by a Coast Guard rescue team from Chincoteague.²⁶ In the afternoon, a mud-filled car was found overturned at the corner of Frederick Road and Westchester Avenue containing the bodies of Valley View Inn patrons Willard Maraskey and Willard Williams.²⁷

At about 2:00 P.M., while on duty at the lower end of Ellicott City's Main Street, police officer James Robey Jr. responded to the report of a body sighted inside the nearby Wilkins-Rogers Milling Company. "I saw just a hand and forearm sticking out from the debris," he recalled. He pulled away some of the logs and lifted out the body, later identified as Elda Nadine Cody, who had been washed all the way downriver from the Hollifield Inn. The body of her friend, Gail Stout, would not be discovered until a month later.²⁸

On Saturday afternoon, Baltimore County police officer William Kahler was patrolling the Halethorpe-Landsdowne area of the lower Patapsco, when he received word of a body found in a pond at the foot of Halethorpe Farms Road, adjacent to the Harbor Tunnel Thruway. There he discovered the body of canoeist Charles Bruce Lokey, caught in a barbed wire fence. "The effects of long immersion were visible," he said, in understated officialese, and added, "I'd lived in the area all my life and never realized how vicious and wild the river could be."²⁹ In all, the Patapsco took the lives of seven people.

In the upper reaches of the Patapsco, there was no loss of life, and aside from the few homes and stores flooded that Wednesday night, the serious damage was confined to the six bridges washed out, leaving only the high Route 32 bridge at Sykesville to connect Howard and Carroll counties. At Woodbine, the National Guard erected a temporary Bailey bridge to save the residents from having to drive ten miles to Mount Airy to cross over into Howard County.³⁰

The factory complex at Daniels, however, was so damaged by the flood that it would never be rebuilt. "The river wiped out the bridge to Baltimore County," said retired park ranger James Roane, 76, "and washed away the post office and company store—its safe, too, which was never found."³¹ Only the nearby Gary Memorial United Methodist Church, "the Friendly Little Church on the Hill," was spared, because of its high perch, and still faithfully serves the surviving residents of the old mill town.

Downstream, the cinderblock Hollifield Inn was left standing but was wrecked inside beyond repair and was later demolished. Similarly, owner Shifflett survived

but could not shake off the memory of that dreadful night, and according to an area resident, “drank himself to death not long after,” becoming in effect the flood’s eighth victim.³²

Ellicott City, along with Elkridge, had been hardest hit by the flood. Along the low-lying stretch of Frederick Road leading to Main Street, residents of flooded homes swept out the mud with push brooms, while bulldozers cleared the road in front. The two gas stations and auto parts store up near the bridge were gone. The Valley View Inn came through intact, thanks to its stone and brick construction, but was left full of silt that, being too thin to shovel, had to be hosed out. The floodwaters had risen almost to the railroad overpass and the historic Baltimore & Ohio Railroad station, snapping telephone poles and leaving tons of debris in the riverbed and almost demolishing the bridge.³³

The lower half of Main Street was thickly carpeted with reeking mud. About twenty-five cars were left tumbled together near the bridge. A bicycle shop close by lost thirty bikes that floated out through its shattered store window. Antique shop owners searched through the mud inside for trinkets and glassware, while volunteers and men from the Fire Department and Department of Public Works used shovels, trucks, and front-end loaders to clear the street. Anita Cushing, the librarian of the Howard County Historical Society, visited her safe deposit box at the Patapsco National Bank and found her U.S. savings bonds soaked with muddy water. On the advice of the manager, she dried them out and ironed them flat.³⁴

The Wilkins-Rogers Milling Company, located in the river’s path and flooded to its first story, expected to be out of operation from four to six weeks, but its cluster of grain elevators at the upstream end of the factory complex acted as a buffer and minimized the damage. Down by the Ilchester Bridge, Simkins Industries plant officials expected to lose \$23,400 a day for the three or four months of its shutdown, plus the cost of the twenty-eight trailer trucks. Doris Stromberg Thompson, editor and co-owner of the *Howard County Times*, remembered climbing the nearby railroad trestle and seeing the trucks scattered “like Tinker Toys.”³⁵

Only time and nature could restore the ravaged trees in the Patapsco Valley State Park. Another swinging footbridge would ultimately replace the vanished one, but the nearby park ranger headquarters had to be demolished. Work crews would rebuild the picnic shelters and Lost Lake, but the ruined section of River Road above Bloede dam remains a wasteland.³⁶

In Elkridge, the yard of the Ingersoll & Rand Equipment Company was strewn with uprooted trees, air compressors, and compaction equipment vehicles. A tanker trailer poked its nose into the bay window of the front office. Returning to work at the nearby Davis & Hemphill Machine Products Company, Calvin Ford saw large carp still flopping listlessly in the mud puddles. He had to rig clotheslines in the shop to dry out blueprints, and spent long hours with his co-workers scrubbing mud from machine parts. The surrounding lawns and roadways were spread with

mud, TV sets, sofa cushions, furniture, and kitchen utensils. Tom's Gas Stop, on Washington Boulevard, lost equipment, car parts, and twelve thousand gallons of gas contaminated by floodwaters invading its storage tanks. Nearby, Heales Center, comprising a restaurant, laundromat, and barbershop, was virtually a total loss. In all, ElkrIDGE suffered major damage to nine businesses and forty-seven residences, and minor damage to eleven businesses and thirty-three residences, compared to Ellicott City, which suffered major damage to forty-nine businesses and thirty-nine residences.³⁷

Property damage, of course, ran into the millions—\$20 million in Ellicott City alone, according to one source³⁸—but just how much would be difficult to determine so long after the event. The dollar estimates reported by newspapers are not too meaningful, given the tendency of people to exaggerate their losses when dealing with their insurance companies. Besides, how could one assign a dollar loss to items having historic or emotional value, such as the ruined two-hundred-year-old Jonathan Ellicott house, the heirloom furniture washed out of antique shops on Ellicott City's Main Street, or the countless photo albums and other personal souvenirs lost to the flood?

There were some positives, to be sure. The flood uncovered an early-nineteenth-century millrace beside the Wilkins-Rogers Milling Company. It also laid bare a section of the Baltimore & Ohio's original (1830) stone track bed at Ilchester, on which the steam locomotive *Tom Thumb* raced a horse. And, according to park ranger James Roane, it purged the river of sediment and industrial waste. But in terms of loss of life and property damage, the Patapsco Flood of 1972 was exceeded only by that which caused thirty-nine deaths in 1868, and well deserves its label "the 100-Year Flood."³⁹

Lesser Patapsco floods occurred between 1868 and 1972. Among the more serious: 1923 (no deaths, but extensive property damage to homes and businesses on Main Street in Ellicott City), 1934 (three deaths and many houses, businesses, and bridges destroyed), 1952 and 1956 (property damage), and 1969 (Hurricane Camille: property damage).⁴⁰ But the ruin and loss of life caused by the flood of 1972 far exceeded these and forced county officials to be active instead of just waiting passively for the next flood to hit.

They took the immediate, obvious steps that would reduce the impact of future flooding: prohibited real estate development too close to the river, enlarged park land on either side to create a buffer zone, cleared the riverbed of logs and other large debris and the banks of heavy growth, to allow for a free flow of flood-level water. For the longer term, they conducted a feasibility study of taming the river with dams, floodgates, and flood retention reservoirs upstream, to protect lives and property below, but they have concluded that a truly effective system would be far too costly.⁴¹

Instead, they settled on an elaborate warning system that would give lower



A tanker trailer pushed into the window of the Ingersoll & Rand Equipment Company. (Courtesy of Peggy Ford, Elkridge Heritage Society.)

Patapsco Valley residents at least two and one-half hours' notice of flooding. Rain and stream gauges throughout the watershed send a radio signal, whenever certain levels are reached, to the Emergency Operation Center in the county office building in Ellicott City. A phone list of businesses in the flood plain supplements the warnings broadcast by radio and television or by police patrols.⁴² The system may not be perfect, but it is more than residents had in 1972.

Almost thirty years after the Great Flood of 1972, some residents in the river-side communities are complacent about the stream that flows peacefully through the valley. They are the younger generation, mainly, or those new to the area. But the older residents who experienced the river's angry mood know it could happen again. They are fatalistic, like people living near the slopes of an active volcano.

On an overhead beam in the Wagon Wheel Antique Shop, in Ellicott City's Tiber Alley, someone has painted in black letters: HIGH WATER MARK—JUNE 22, 1972.

NOTES

The author wishes to thank the many river people, quoted here as well as well as unquoted, for their help with this story.

1. "Clean-up begins in Ellicott City," *Baltimore Sun*, June 24, 1972.
2. Paul J. Travers, *The Patapsco: Baltimore's River of History* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publications, 1990), 7, 10.
3. *Ibid.*, 181–82, 139.
4. *Ibid.*, 166–68, 175.
5. *Ibid.*, 175–76.
6. "Flood Victims at Armory," *Howard County Times*, June 26, 1972, and interview with Howard M. Dillow Jr., July 11, 1998.
7. Interview with James Robey Jr., July 5, 1998.
8. "Swollen Patapsco caught four in its path; 1 survived," *Baltimore Sun*, June 24, 1972; "Agnes: Days of Raging Rivers," *Howard County Times*, June 16, 1997, and interview with Verla Sue Crocetti, former owner of the Tic-Toc Inn (Hollifield Inn), May 8, 1998.
9. "Four Persons Killed in Local Flooding," *Catonsville Times*, June 29, 1972, and interview with Al Granger, August 23, 1998.
10. Interviews with Shirley Mellor and John ("Pete") Rest, August 21, 1998. Opened floodgates at Liberty Dam were cited by other people as a cause for the sudden rise of the water level, but in fact the dam was constructed without floodgates. Interview with supervisor Eugene Scarpulla, Office of Reservoir and Natural Resources, Baltimore City, August 25, 1998.
11. "Flood Devastates County, 3 Dead, Over 900 Evacuated," *Howard County Times*, June 26, 1972.
12. "Four Persons Killed in Local Flooding," *Catonsville Times*, June 29, 1972, and interviews with William Healey, August 23, 1998, Joseph H. Burriss, August 31, 1998, and Shirley Phillips, September 1, 1998.
13. Interview with William Healey, August 23, 1998.
14. *Tropical Storm Agnes* (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, n.d.), 22, and interview with Minnie Valmas Magiros, niece of Paul Valmas, August 24, 1998.
15. "Agnes: Days of Raging Rivers," *Howard County Times*, June 19, 1997.
16. "Floods won't surprise county again," *Columbia Flier*, June 19, 1997.
17. Interview with William Healey, August 23, 1998, nephew of Richard Healey, former owner of the tavern.
18. "Frey Family Sees Floods Destroy House They Built with their Own Hands," *Howard County Times*, June 29, 1972, and interview with Robert Frey, August 21, 1998.
19. "Flood Heavily Damages Milling Firms, Railroad," *Howard County Times*, June 29, 1972.
20. Travers, *The Patapsco*, 177; interviews with Sister Christina, August 19, 1998, and James ("J.P.") Preston, August 23, 1998.
21. "Flooded Elkridge Businessmen Dig Out After Muddy Deluge," *Howard County Times*, June 29, 1972.
22. "Flood Victims Rest at Armory," *Howard County Times*, June 26, 1972, and interview with Herman Franklin, August 3, 1998.
23. Interview with Robert L. Somers, July 30, 1998.
24. "Floods won't surprise county again," *Columbia Flier*, June 19, 1997; "After the Rains Came," *Catonsville Times*, June 29, 1972; and "Victims Rest at Armory," *Howard County Times*, June 26, 1972.

25. "Swollen Patapsco caught 4 in its path; 1 survived," *Baltimore Sun*, June 24, 1972, and interview with Carroll Greninger Sr., May 8, 1998.
26. "Four Persons Killed in Local Flooding," *Catonsville Times*, June 29, 1972, and "New building: ban threat in wake of Agnes' fury," *Columbia Villager*, June 29, 1972.
27. "Four Persons Killed in Local Flooding," *Catonsville Times*, June 29, 1972.
28. "Flood Devastates County, 3 Dead, Over 900 Evacuated," *Howard County Times*, June 26, 1972; interview with James Robey Jr., June 28, 1998; "Daniels," *Catonsville Times*, October 12, 1988.
29. Interview with Sergeant William Kahler, Baltimore County Police Department, June 5, 1998.
30. "Where the Patapsco Begins—Not Quite as Bad," *Howard County Times*, July 6, 1972.
31. "Flood Heavily Damages Milling Firms, Railroad," *Howard County Times*, June 29, 1972, and interview with James Roane, July 15, 1998. A fire destroyed the oldest buildings in 1975, and the remaining ones now serve as a mulch factory (James Roane). The C. R. Daniels Company has since moved to higher ground near Route 40, Ellicott City.
32. Interview with Verla Sue Crocetti, former owner of the Tic-Toc Inn (later the Hollifield Inn), May 8, 1998.
33. "After the Rains Came," *Catonsville Times*, June 29, 1972, interview with Joseph Morea, owner of the Trolley Stop (formerly the Valley View Inn), April 30, 1998, and "Agnes: Days of Raging Rivers," *Howard County Times*, June 19, 1997.
34. "Clean-up begins in Ellicott City," *Baltimore Sun*, June 24, 1972, and interview with Anita Cushing, librarian of the Howard County Historical Society, May 2, 1998.
35. "Flood Heavily Damages Milling Firms, Railroad," *Howard County Times*, June 29, 1972, and interview with Doris Stromberg Thompson, August 20, 1998.
36. Visit to lower Patapsco Valley State Park, August 26, 1998.
37. "Flooded Elkridge Businessmen Dig Out After Muddy Deluge," *Howard County Times*, June 20, 1972, and "The day the rivers rose up," *Howard County Times*, June 25, 1992.
38. "Ellicott City keeps watch over floodwaters," *Howard County Times*, June 1, 1997.
39. Herbert H. Harwood Jr., *Impossible Challenge: The Baltimore and Ohio in Maryland* (Baltimore: Barnard, Roberts, & Co., 1979), 20, and interview with James Roane, July 15, 1998. For a description of the flood of 1868, see Travers, *The Patapsco*, 166ff.
40. Travers, *The Patapsco*, 179, and "Great Floods," *Howard County Times*, October 23, 1980.
41. "The last time . . . and the next," *Howard County Times*, October 23, 1980, and "Are We Ready If it Happens Again?" *Howard County Times*, June 19, 1997.
42. "Ellicott City Keeps Watch over Floodwaters," *Baltimore Sun*, June 1, 1997; "Are We Ready If It Happens Again?" *Howard County Times*, June 19, 1997; and interview with Elizabeth Calia, head of watershed management for Howard County's Department of Public Works, May 5, 1998.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Mathias de Sousa: Maryland's First Colonist of African Descent

DAVID S. BOGEN

Mathias de Sousa has long been hailed as the first colonist of African descent in Maryland. But what do we know about him and how do we know it? He was not the first person of African descent in Maryland. At least four months before de Sousa arrived in Maryland, individuals of African descent worked on Kent Island. William Claiborne sued Clobery and Company for expenses for his Kent Island trading post, including 1 pound 5 shillings “ffor negers services some monthes” to November of 1633. Claiborne, however, did not have a royal grant to establish a province. Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, did. Thus, the settlers who came under Calvert’s aegis, including de Sousa, were the first colonists of Maryland.¹

In a colony of Englishmen, de Sousa had a unique name. A few documents from the first days of the colony mention a person with that name or a variant thereof: headright claims, a reference in an estate inventory, a deposition, a mention in general assembly records, and several documents in debt litigation. The references are spare—a tantalizing glimpse that leaves most of his life to the imagination, such as when or where de Sousa was born or died, why he came to Maryland, what he thought of the land, what ideas he held, who his friends were, or how other colonists treated him. Nevertheless, these documents and the other records of the period provide a reasonable basis for a few inferences. Although none of the inferences are beyond doubt, they at least provide some basis for beginning to understand the man and his position in early Maryland.²

De Sousa appears to have been an “Atlantic creole”—a person of African descent with connections to the wider Atlantic world.³ He had European as well as African ancestors, and he came to Maryland with the first colonists under very

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different circumstances than other men and women of African descent. This short account presents what we know about this intriguing individual, how we know it, and what we may infer about his life.

Headright Documents

The paucity of the written record is a perennial historical problem. Much is lost because it was never written down, and many written documents have been lost or destroyed.⁴ Many records survived through copies despite the loss of the originals. For example, all of the headright documents mentioning Mathias de Sousa come from Liber F of the Maryland Proprietary records, a book which itself may have involved copies of material (the documents in the early pages were not in chronological sequence, indicating that at least the beginning of the book was put together after the fact). Land entries from Liber F were transcribed in 1717 into Liber AB&H, and much of the whole of Liber F was transcribed in 1724 into Land Office Records Liber 1.⁵ However, the original Liber F has been lost, so some of the differences between the Liber 1 and Liber AB&H copies cannot be reconciled.

The first record of Mathias de Sousa is an undated entry by Thomas Copley in Proprietary Record Book F that lists "Mathias Sousa" among persons "brought into the province" in 1633.⁶ That section of Liber F contains lists of people brought into the province of Maryland, probably written down to provide a basis for claiming land. Lord Baltimore had offered to grant land for a small annual quitrent to anyone who transported men between the ages of sixteen and fifty to the province. The offer varied according to whether the transportation was in 1633, 1634, 1635 or thereafter, decreasing in amount for arrivals after 1633.⁷ Copley himself came in 1637 as the Father Superior of the Jesuit mission. His list treated almost everyone who arrived before him as having come in 1633, a mistake with the potential to benefit Jesuit claims.

Thomas Copley's list has a number of other errors that indicate he compiled the list in a hurry, either before he was completely familiar with the facts or relying on faulty memory. The list repeats the name Robert Edwards, refers to Richard Thompson as John, and Benjamin Hodges as Thomas. Further, Copley did not distinguish between persons brought to Maryland by the Jesuits and those brought by others who assigned their rights to the Jesuits.⁸

Copley's list recorded arrivals, but formal acquisition of land based on the Conditions of Plantation required several more steps. The person entitled to land had to "demand" a warrant for a survey of land in the amount to which he was entitled. The governor or the secretary of the province would then issue a warrant to the surveyor to lay out the boundaries for land, the surveyor would provide a certificate of survey, and the governor would sign a patent or grant for the land.⁹

Ferdinand Pulton filed a "demand" for warrants for land on October 9, 1639,

about nine months after he arrived in Maryland to succeed Copley as Father Superior of the Jesuit mission. Pulton's demand corrected some of the inaccuracies in Copley's list. He laid out the source of his claimed right, gave arrival dates for the colonists in 1633, 1634, 1635, 1637, and 1638, and corrected some first names. This document included a claim "As assignee of Mr. Andrew White brought into the province Anno 1633 . . . Mathias Sousa, a Molato."¹⁰

The record of Pulton's demand is the basis for the statement that Mathias de Sousa was a mulatto who came with the original colonists. It confirms the 1633 date given by Copley and specifies that de Sousa was a mulatto. It identifies Andrew White, a Jesuit priest who came on the *Ark*, as the person responsible for bringing de Sousa to Maryland.

The demand was recorded in Liber F (1640-43), folio 61-62, and later transcribed in Maryland Provincial Patents Liber 1, folio 37, and in Liber AB&H, folio 65. The two transcriptions are not identical: for example, Sousa appears as "Tousa" in Liber AB&H, which may reflect difficulties in distinguishing between an S and a T in the handwriting of the original scribe. Both Liber 1 and Liber AB&H contain the careful listing of names and sources of rights for the claim copied from Liber F folio 61. Both transcriptions of Liber F, folio 61, clearly label Sousa as "a molato," assuring that the designation did appear in the original Liber F.

Liber 1 also copied, from folio 62 of Liber F, Pulton's demand for a specific acreage (260 acres) of town land for transporting twenty-six able men in 1633. Each is named, including "Matthias Sousa," but the sources are not included. This additional listing omits the Jesuit priests and lay brother mentioned on the previous page and makes no reference to de Sousa's race. Pulton also demanded additional acreage "for transporting the foresaid five and twenty men in the year 1633." Unlike Liber 1, Liber AB&H does not repeat names of the persons transported, but it includes the description of surveys done for Pulton.¹¹

Although Pulton filed the claim under the name Ferdinand Pulton, he intended to obtain rights to land on behalf of his religious order. Jesuit priests took a vow of poverty, and the claim of rights to land as assignee of his predecessors Andrew White and Thomas Copley indicate that he was acting on behalf of the order. Ownership by the Jesuit order directly would have posed significant difficulties, not only because the Anglican church was the established church in England but because perpetual existence of a landowner undercut the feudal relationship that Lord Baltimore was attempting to establish in Maryland. The records do not show any patent issued to Pulton, and records in the Jesuit archives show Baltimore in November 1641, following the English statutes of mortmain, attached a prohibition on a spiritual society making claims under the Conditions.¹²

After Ferdinand Pulton died in an accidental shooting in June or July of 1641,¹³ Thomas Copley became Father Superior again. Copley entered another claim for the town land that had been laid out for Pulton "for transporting 26 able men into

the Province in the year 1633,” referencing Pulton’s demand without repeating the names of the persons transported. He only asked for a portion of the land beyond the town that Pulton had claimed to set up a manor. Copley simultaneously transferred his rights to Cuthbert Fenwick, a trusted Catholic layman, so that Fenwick could hold the title to the land in his name in trust for the Jesuits.¹⁴

Copley again filed a demand in 1650 after his return from England, presumably attempting to reestablish the Jesuit position that had been disrupted by Protestant control of Maryland during the English Civil War. This claim refers to the importation of “Mathias Zause” in 1633 along with Andrew White.¹⁵ Copley’s claim does not mention de Sousa’s race, but beneath “Zause” is an entry for “ffra Molcto” i.e. “Francisco, mulatto.”¹⁶ Copley had previously listed “Francisco” as being brought to Maryland in 1637.¹⁷ Pulton had listed “Francisco, a malato” as brought to Maryland in 1635,¹⁸ and Copley’s 1641 claim referenced Pulton’s claims as the basis for Jesuit rights, so 1635 is probably the correct date for Francisco’s arrival.

Copley’s 1650 claim was the last document to mention de Sousa by name, but Thomas Green gave an affidavit a few weeks later that asserted “certain men’s names lately delivered into the Secretary’s Office by Thomas Copley Esq. were the true and proper Servants of Andrew White.”¹⁹ The headright and affidavit indicate that Mathias de Sousa came to Maryland as one of the servants to the Jesuit mission, but the meaning of “servant” is unclear. Copley’s 1650 list included priests and lay brothers of the order as well as individuals like Henry Bishop and Richard Lusted who worked on the Jesuit’s land.

Inferences from the Headrights

All the documents concerning de Sousa’s arrival in the Province of Maryland agree that he came in 1633. This demonstrates that he was an original colonist, because only the *Ark* and the *Dove* were within the colony’s waters pursuant to Baltimore’s charter in 1633. Lord Baltimore’s settlers marked the commencement of colonization by coming ashore, erecting a cross, and celebrating mass on March 25, 1634.²⁰

Ferdinand Pulton’s 1639 “demand” stated that de Sousa was a mulatto. That is the basis for inferring that de Sousa was at least partially of African descent. The inference rests on the assumption that Pulton made no mistake in his identification and intended the term “mulatto” to refer to ancestry rather than complexion.

Pulton had been in Maryland as the Father Superior for almost a year before filing his demand, so he is not likely to have misidentified de Sousa. It is not surprising that other documents did not mention de Sousa’s race. Headright claims normally mentioned personal characteristics only to prevent mistakes in identification. For example, Pulton’s demand identified John Price as Black John Price

and his son as White John Price to make it clear there were two different individuals for whom rights could be claimed.²¹ Similarly, General Assembly records show John Hollis "Carpenter" and John Hollis "Planter" if both attended the same session, but most references to Hollis in other records make no mention of profession.²² The designation of de Sousa as mulatto appears only on a document that also designates Francisco as a mulatto. Francisco's race distinguished him from others who had a first name that could be abbreviated as *ffra* (such as Francis). In that event, Pulton may have designated de Sousa by both name and race to show there were two mulattos among the persons being listed and no confusion among them, i.e., that indeed Francisco was a separate person from Mathias.

The designation of Sousa as a mulatto demonstrates that his ethnic origin was considered significant. The word mulatto comes from the Spanish and Portuguese "mulato" meaning mule, hence a half-breed. It has been suggested that "mulatto" referred to complexion rather than parentage in the seventeenth century.²³ That is questionable.²⁴ The term is linked to status in Maryland toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, when it appears more frequently in colonial records. The first statutory mention of mulattos categorized "Negros, Indians & Molattos" together in 1678, and that same year Lord Baltimore referred to slaveowners who refused "to permitt their Negroes and Mulattos to be Baptised."²⁵ Finally, the references to Francisco in the headrights as a mulatto support the conclusion that the word referred to persons who at least appeared to be of African descent. The absence of a last name in the records would be more common for one of African than of any other background. If "mulatto" meant a person of some African blood in the case of Francisco, it probably was used the same way in the same document for de Sousa. Thus, Matthias de Sousa, one of the original colonists of Maryland, was a man of African descent, at least in part.

As a mulatto, de Sousa also had some non-African ancestors. He was probably at least one generation removed from Africa, exposed from birth to some form of European culture.²⁶ Portugal dominated trade with Africa (including the slave trade) in the sixteenth century, but Portugal was united with Spain in 1580 for a period of about sixty years, making it likely that a mulatto born at the opening of the seventeenth century had some Spanish or Portuguese ancestor. De Sousa's last name supports the suggestion that one of his ancestors was Portuguese, but the name is also found in Spain and among Spanish or Portuguese Jews.

In some cases, names are adopted or given in appreciation of heroes, leaders, or friends. For example, Mvemba a Nzinga, the sixteenth-century king of Kongo, was baptized as Afonso I. Afonso's cousin, Pedro de Sousa, served as his ambassador to Portugal. Thus, Mathias could have taken or been given the name de Sousa at baptism. Even if his name came from his African ancestry, the close relationship between Kongo and Portugal would still point toward Portugal as the native land of his non-African ancestors.²⁷

There is a possibility that de Sousa's ancestors were ethnically Jewish. De Sousa was a common name for Spanish-Portuguese people, both Jews and non Jews. Susan Falb noted that Jesuit historians invariably identified de Sousa as "the Jew" in conversations with her. But the historians, eager to show Catholic tolerance in the early days of the colony, may have confused de Sousa with Jacob Lombrozo, a Jew who came to Maryland several decades later. Jacob Marcus stated that de Sousa was recruited on Barbados as an indentured servant and noted that there were Jewish de Sousas on Barbados in the second half of the seventeenth century. There are, however, no records to show that de Sousa came from Barbados. Marcus may have relied on J. Thomas Scharf's *History of Maryland*, which stated that Richard Thompson brought "Mathias Tousa, a 'mulatto' whom he no doubt brought from the island of Barbadoes."²⁸ But Andrew White, not Thompson, brought de Sousa. Indeed, White brought Thompson, which is why Thompson's name appears just before de Sousa's in one of the lists. Scharf was not only wrong about the circumstances of de Sousa's coming, but his assumption was probably based on the fact that most blacks brought to Virginia prior to 1680 were imported from Barbados.²⁹ These arguments for de Sousa's Jewish ancestry hinge on projecting events from the latter half of the century back into the first half. There are no records of de Sousas in Barbados during the first half of the seventeenth century and no records of anyone joining the first colonists' vessels from that island or any other.³⁰

Father White wrote that Barbados authorities discovered a conspiracy by servants to kill their masters and free themselves just before the Maryland colonists arrived. Whether that was an environment to silently acquire a servant is debatable. When White wrote that English Catholics contributed servants to the mission who were important to its success, he appeared to imply that the servants came from England. The failure to mention de Sousa in the English records of those sailing on the *Ark* is not significant; Father White and others joined the ship at the Isle of Wight after its initial sailing to avoid taking an oath and were not listed in those records. White, a scholar who taught at schools throughout the continent, might have met de Sousa when he was in Lisbon. Wherever they met, de Sousa could easily have accompanied White back to England during the years White served as secretary to Lord Baltimore. Thus de Sousa could have boarded in England along with the Jesuit priests who paid for his transportation.³¹

Pulton's claim that Father White brought Sousa to Maryland suggests that de Sousa was Catholic. Catholic adventurers seeking to enlarge their estates seemed indifferent to their servants' religion, but the Jesuits had a religious mission. The English Province of the Society of Jesus wrote annual letters reporting on the Jesuits in Maryland. Although none of the annual letters mention de Sousa by name, they do refer to the work of servants. The 1634 letter stated "many Catholics showed great liberality, and contributed money as well as servants, these latter

being of the first necessity here." One servant was redeemed from another vessel where he was being sold into the colonies because he professed the Catholic faith. The 1638 letter refers to conversions to Catholicism of a number of Protestants and includes among them four "servants" purchased in Virginia. These letters indicate that anyone brought in by a priest was likely either to be a Catholic or to be constantly pressured to become one.³²

Several other factors indicate that de Sousa was Catholic. If earlier reasoning is correct, de Sousa's non-African ancestors were likely Portuguese rather than English, and Portugal was a Catholic country. Further, the Jesuits would eventually give de Sousa a good deal of responsibility as their agent dealing with Indians. Since the priests were concerned with their role as missionaries to the Indians, they were unlikely to confide such trust in a Protestant.

In summary, the headright claims indicate that Matthias de Sousa was an original colonist whose costs of transportation were paid by the Jesuit order, that he was a Catholic who initially worked for the Jesuit missionaries, and that he had both African and Portuguese ancestors.

Records of the Estate of Justinian Snow

By 1639, the year in which Pulton filed the headright claiming de Sousa had been brought to Maryland by Father White, de Sousa was able to enter into transactions independent of the Jesuits. The inventory of the estate of Justinian Snow, a wealthy St. Mary's planter, filed May 24, 1639, showed a debt owing from "Mathias de Sousa" of "012 in roll." At the time of the entry, the records showed payment of the debt of "mathias Sousa" had not been received.³³

The value of Snow's estate and the debts owed him were measured in pounds of tobacco. De Sousa's debt was the smallest (12 pounds of tobacco), and the only one to specify the amount "in roll." The debt to Snow suggests that de Sousa was a free man by 1639, for an indentured servant would be in a poor position to contract outside of the indenture.³⁴ Even if de Sousa had been indentured to the Jesuits, the indenture would have been satisfied by 1639. Although de Sousa's debt indicates that he was able to contract and to earn money, it does not indicate whether he had ever been indentured or what kind of work he did.³⁵

Garry Wheeler Stone has pointed out that de Sousa appears in the probate of Snow's estate with a cluster of other names linked to the Indian trade—John Hallowes (Hollis), Thomas Boys, and Roger Oliver.³⁶ Perhaps the debts were incurred for supplies in that trade. But other names on the list, like the carpenter John Cook, were not linked to the Indian trade, so no definitive conclusion can be reached about the reason for de Sousa's debt.

Deposition

Matthias de Sousa's only recorded words show his involvement in trade with the Indians. He gave a deposition, dated November 3, 1642, before the Provincial Secretary, John Lewger, in connection with litigation over sums due to John Prettiman.³⁷

Mathias de Sousa made oath that about March [1641] was twelvemonth he was appointed by mr Pulton to goe in his pinace as skipper & trader to the Sesquihanoughs & by him appointed to hire men at Kent for the voyage, & that he would write to mr brent to assist him in it & that at his coming to Kent wth the knowledge & consent of mr brent he hired John Prettiman to goe vpon the voyage, & that he hired him for 200 + tob. p month, and that accordingly John Prettiman was out upon the voyage 2 months (within 3 daies) & that by his meanes & presence he verily beleeveth the pinace & men were saved at that time from destruction by the sesquihanowes.

About March was twelvemonth he was appointed by Mr. Pulton. DeSousa's deposition supported the suit of John Prettiman against Thomas Copley for wages. "Mr. Pulton" was Copley's predecessor, Ferdinand Pulton,³⁸ who died in the summer of 1641. The reference to "March was twelvemonth" means that Pulton appointed de Sousa around March 24 or 25, when the old year ended and the new one began. DeSousa was still working as an employee of the Jesuits in 1641.

To go in his pinace as skipper & trader to the Sesquihanoughs. The Susquehannock Indians were the prize partners in the Chesapeake fur trade, because they had the best access to furs. The Jesuit fathers were anxious to reach the various Indian tribes with the gospel, but had to get clearance from the highest authorities in the order to trade with them.³⁹ The Jesuit order prohibited its members from seeking profit. It justified trade as necessary when the community raised insufficient food to survive without barter, but the Susquehannocks were primarily a source for furs rather than food. Nevertheless, apparently it was acceptable to participate in the trade in order to have goods that ultimately could be traded for necessary items.

Lord Baltimore insisted that he license all traders. Father White and Father Copley protested that licensing was a bad idea in letters to Baltimore in 1638 and 1639, arguing that it would irritate the colonists. Father White even offered the Jesuits' boat for Lord Baltimore's use in the fur trade in order to dissuade him from creating a monopoly, but the ploy apparently failed.

The pinnacle of Mr. Pulton that Sousa piloted in 1641 was probably the same boat the Jesuit fathers used in 1642. "We are carried in a pinnace or galley, to wit: the Father, the interpreter, and a servant — for we use an interpreter. . . . Two of

them propel the boat with oars, when the wind is adverse or fails; the third steers with the helm.⁴⁰ De Sousa was appointed skipper and placed in charge of the vessel for trading with the Indians. He had at least two crew members including John Prettiman, and he probably had more than two because he reported that Prettiman saved the "men." De Sousa's appointment as the person in charge indicates a person of responsibility who was familiar with sailing vessels, but he could have acquired sufficient sailing experience to be skipper of a small pinnace in the bay after his arrival in Maryland. It is possible that de Sousa's work on ships and with the Indians kept him from becoming a planter and helped keep him largely out of the political process, but this is speculation. We do not know what work he did other than this single trading voyage.

And by him appointed to hire men at Kent for the voyage, & that he would write to mr brent to assist him in it. Pulton appointed de Sousa to hire men for the voyage at Kent Island. Kent Island is in the Chesapeake Bay some distance north of St. Marys and closer to the Susquehannock settlements. William Claiborne had originally settled the island as a base for fur trading operations and claimed to hold Kent Island independently of Lord Baltimore, who had obtained his charter after Claiborne had commenced operations on the island. After battles in 1635 with proprietary forces, Claiborne left the area for Virginia and then England to defend his interests. During his absence, Lord Baltimore secured control of the island. While Claiborne was away, the Susquehannocks traded with Peter Minuit in New Sweden rather than with Claiborne's enemy.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Kent Island still served as the jumping-off point for trading expeditions with Indians.

Because the island was some distance from Saint Mary's and vulnerable to Claiborne and to unfriendly Indians, its governance was fairly autonomous. In March 1641, Governor Leonard Calvert appointed William Braithwaite "Commander" of the island, a position with both military and political power.⁴² Giles Brent remained the most eminent person as owner of the thousand-acre Kent Fort Manor.⁴³ He had served as "Commander of the Isle of Kent" for several months in 1640 and would do so again in 1642. He also served in that capacity pro tempore in particular matters in 1641. Brent served as a member of the provincial council, and, when Leonard Calvert returned to England in 1643–44, Brent served as governor pro tem.⁴⁴ When Pulton wrote to Giles Brent, requesting that he aid de Sousa in hiring men for the voyage, he was asking for assistance from the man in that area most closely linked to the governor of the province.

... at his coming to Kent wth the knowledge & consent of mr brent he hired John Prettiman to goe vpon the voyage, . . . De Sousa sought Brent's assistance and his consent. Giles Brent may have been given authority to license traders. In any event, it would have been the better part of valor to obtain his consent for any expedition.

... & that he hired him for 200⁺ tob. p month, and that accordingly John Prettiman

*was out upon the voyage 2 months (within 3 daies) . . . The price of the hiring and the time of service demonstrate that this deposition was given to support John Prettiman's claim for services against Pulton. When Pulton died, Thomas Copley succeeded to his obligations on behalf of the order as well as to its assets. Thus Prettiman demanded of "Tho: Coply Esq" three hundred weight of tobacco "for wages" and for tobacco paid for the said Mr. Copley.*⁴⁵

John Prettiman was usually the defendant rather than the plaintiff in debt litigation.⁴⁶ In May 1642 he had agreed to make over all his crop of corn and tobacco to John Hollis, a man who was involved in trading with the Indians. The deed for the crop was entered in court records in October 1642.⁴⁷ On December 5, 1642, by his attorney John Wortley, William Broughe stated that he had an execution against Prettiman, but Prettiman had no land or goods and therefore Broughe sought "that his person and future employment may be bound to the use of the execution according to law." The Court found that Prettiman's labor should be so bound.⁴⁸ Thus Prettiman got into debt to Hollis and Brough and ended up indentured to Brough because all his assets had been used to pay Hollis. Prettiman may well have been suing Copley to recover enough money to pay his own debts.

*And that by his means and presence he verily believeth the pinace and men were saved from destruction by the Susquehannas.*⁴⁹ The timing of Prettiman's hiring suggests he and de Sousa were on a trading mission in the late spring or early summer of 1641 when they were threatened by the Susquehannocks, who had a well-deserved reputation for fierceness. Indeed, the colonists were able to purchase land from the Yaocomico indians in 1634 because the Yaocomico were leaving to escape Susquehannock raids. The colonists sided with the neighboring Nanticoke and Piscataway tribes in resisting Susquehannock incursions.⁵⁰

Before Lord Baltimore's settlers arrived, William Claiborne established a trading post on Palmer's Island to be near the Susquehannocks. But even Claiborne found that cultural differences and language problems made misunderstanding inevitable and trading dangerous. Claiborne reported:

Our trade with the Indians is allwayes with danger of our lives; And that we usually trade in a shallop or small pinnace, being 6 or 7 English men encompassed with two or 300 Indians. And that is as much as we can doe to defend our selves by standing on our guard with our armes ready and our gunns presented in our handes. Two or 3 of the men must looke to the trucke that the Indians doe not steale it, and a great deale of trucke is often stole by the Indians though we look never soe well to it.⁵¹

Whatever transpired on de Sousa's trip may have contributed to opposition to the Indians later in the year. On July 10, 1641, the governor issued a proclama-

tion to the inhabitants of Kent authorizing them to "shoot, wound, or kill any Indian whatsoever coming upon the said island." Further, the governor proposed bills for an expedition against the Indians in October 1641 and March 1642. The Assembly did empower an expedition against the Susquehannocks in its September 1642 session, and John Prettiman was one of the soldiers who participated.⁵²

The General Assembly Records

The General Assembly proceedings for the afternoon of March 23, 1641[2] list "Assembled . . . Matt das Sousa."⁵³ This is the only mention of de Sousa in connection with the legislative process. He was not listed as attending earlier in the session, nor do we have any record of his voting or giving a proxy at any other time.

Lord Baltimore had power to enact laws for the province "of and with the advise assent and approbation of the Free-men of the said Province." By 1639, the burden of attending the assembly and the difficulty of conducting business with such numbers led the body to adopt an act creating a representative form. The governor issued writs ordering that elections be held for the October 1640 and August 1641 assemblies.⁵⁴ He initially issued similar election writs for the March 1641[2] assembly, but the 1639 election law, like other laws passed by the General Assembly, expired after three years. The governor, therefore, issued a call to all freemen to attend the assembly either in person or by proxy.⁵⁵ Any free man could vote as a member of the General Assembly that session.

It seems likely that geography explains de Sousa's absence from other meetings of the March 1641[2] session. Assembly attendance was generally a chore, but for one session the Assembly might have come to de Sousa. Although earlier meetings were held in St. Mary's, the General Assembly moved nearby to John Lewger's estate to conduct business during the March 23 afternoon session. It is possible that de Sousa was working for Lewger at the time.⁵⁶

De Sousa's absence from the earlier meetings raises the possibility that he was merely a spectator or a witness in one of the cases decided by the provincial court, but the records contain no reference that might suggest persons listed as assembled were not freemen. Laws passed in the afternoon session were stated to be "passed by all." Consequently, de Sousa's recorded presence in the list of persons assembled on the afternoon of March 23 indicates his status as a free man voting on the laws passed at that time.

Hollis-Lewger Litigation Over De Sousa's Debts

The Susquehannock expedition may have proved costly for Mathias. When he gave his deposition on behalf of Prettiman in November, de Sousa was facing two suits for his labor. In August 1642, the Assembly had passed a law providing that a debtor whose goods were insufficient to pay a debt could be brought before a

judge and ordered to satisfy the debt through labor.⁵⁷ John Hollis, who had filed his rights to Prettiman's crops in October, obtained a writ of execution against the person of de Sousa to satisfy a debt of five hundred pounds of tobacco. The writ ordered the sheriff of St. Mary's to "Seise the person of mathias de Sousa to satisfie vnto John hollis 500⁺ tob wth cask wch he hath recovered of him by iudgemt of Court: and what you shall doe herin certifie without delay after such yor seisure."⁵⁸

Hollis was not only a trader but a planter who sought servants for work on his plantation. On December 11, Hollis entered into an indenture with John Hilliard (another person apparently brought over in 1633 by Father White) for him to work one year for Hollis in exchange for eleven hundred pounds of tobacco.⁵⁹ At that rate, Hollis was seeking only six months of labor from de Sousa.

The writ against de Sousa was entered in the books on December 1, 1642, but it must have been issued before that date because there is an entry by Lewger on November 3 seeking to stay Hollis' writs:

John Lewger alledgeth that the person of Mathias de sousa is bound to him the said John Lewger by an indenture of service for foure months & upward yet to come made bona fide and vpon good consideration, all wch he is ready & vundertaketh vpon him to averre whensoever he shalbe therevnto required, vpon his perill of being answerable to any person as shalbe damnified by this his allegation, in such manner as the Court shall adiudge vpon his default of prooffe, & therefore prayeth that a writt of supsedeas be granted to him vpon the exequution awarded agst the pson of the said Mathias at the suit of John Hollis.⁶⁰

De Sousa was working for the Jesuits in the spring of 1641, but he was at Lewger's property when the General Assembly met there in the spring of 1642. By fall 1642 Lewger claimed de Sousa was bound to him by an indenture. Lewger filed this request on the same date as he filed de Sousa's deposition in the Prettiman litigation. As secretary of the province, Lewger was in charge of keeping the legal records and could enter in them matters involving his own litigation when it was convenient. He had no need to record the indenture until Hollis sought de Sousa's service. That triggered the request for the stay, and the governor promptly issued a warrant staying the execution until further notice.

whereas mr John Lewger alledgeth that the person of Mathias de sousa against whom you have an exequution in yor hands as yet vnserved is bound to him the said John Lewger by Indenture of service, & hath vndertaken to prove his said allegation at his perill These are therefore to will & require you to forbear to serve the said

exequution vntill further order in that behalfe. And this shalbe yor warrant.

To the Sheriff of St maries Signed Leonard Calvert⁶¹

On December 5, the Provincial Court found in Lewger's favor.

The allegation of mr Lewger touching the pson of Mathias de Sousa agst the exequution of John Hollis was found for mr Lewger & adjudged by the Court that the covenant of the said Mathias for disposing of his pson to the satisfaction of Mrs [sic] Lewgers iust debts was valid, & that exequution was to issue vpon his pson on behalfe of the said John hollis in the same order & to the same effect as other exequutions vpon goods.⁶²

In other words, de Sousa must first serve his term for Lewger before serving Hollis. Both de Sousa and John Prettiman ended their voyage together with orders against their person for debts that bound them to labor. There are no further records of de Sousa.

With the exception of the designation of de Sousa as mulatto in the headright of Father White, no other recorded document of the period makes reference to his race. A free man who made contracts, led a trading expedition, gave a deposition for court proceedings, and voted, but whose debts led him into indentured servitude (possibly he and Prettiman borrowed from Lewger and Hollis to do some trading on their own), de Sousa was an equal member of society.

NOTES

My thanks to Edward C. Papenfuse and Lois Green Carr who commented on the manuscript and rectified several errors. They bear no responsibility for those remaining. I also thank research assistants Brian Kobil and Scott McCabe.

1. "Claiborne v. Cloberry et al. in the High Court of Admiralty," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 28 (1933): 39. See also Erich Isaac, "Kent Island: Part I: The Period of Settlement," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 52 (1957): 93.

Further, the workers at Kent Island may not have been the first persons of African descent in Maryland. A couple of months after the colonists landed, Cyprian Thorowgood took a trip to the head of the bay and mentioned meeting "a Negroe, which lived among them for to learne the language." There is no indication how long this unnamed individual had been there. See "A Relation of a Voyage Made by Mr. Cyprian Thorowgood to the Head of the Baye, April 25 to May 15, 1634," in G. E. Gifford Jr., ed., *Cecil County Maryland 1608-1850 as Seen by Some Visitors and Several Essays on Local History* (Rising Sun, Md.: George E. Gifford Memorial Committee, Calvert School, 1974), 13. This was probably not de Sousa, because de Sousa had just arrived, the Jesuits who brought him needed hands to build and plant, de Sousa would have been familiar by name to Thorowgood, and no document referred to him as a "negro."

2. St. Mary's City Commission, Career Files of Seventeenth Century St. Mary's County Residents, Manuscript 27 boxes (men), Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. Box 8 contains all mentions of de Sousa.
3. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1998).
4. For example, Richard Ingle is said to have destroyed a number of the colony's records in his raids in 1645. John Leeds Bozman, *The History of Maryland, volume II* (Baltimore: James Lucas & E. K. Deaver, 1837), 290.
5. William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 1:xv. See Carson Gibb, *A Supplement to the Early Settlers of Maryland* (Annapolis, Md.: Maryland State Archives, 1997). Liber AB&H extracted land records from among the court proceedings and other business in Libers A, F and H to make a single convenient volume for land records shortly after the proprietor regained his rights and the Land Office Judgeship was created. The General Assembly created a commission in 1722 that reported on the needs to preserve the records of the province, including rebinding and copying old records. Thus, in 1724, Liber 1 copied virtually the whole of Liber F along with much of Liber B. Maryland State Archives.
6. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber F, Folio 21 (transcribed in Liber 1, Folio 19), Maryland State Archives.
7. Father Andrew White, *A Declaration of Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland, nigh upon Virginia: Manifesting the Nature, Quality, Condition and Rich Vtilities it Contayneth* (London, 1633), 2. Conditions of Plantation, *Archives of Maryland*, 3:47–48.
8. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 19–20, Maryland State Archives. The list also included John Hollis, though the Jesuits never claimed anyone by that name as a basis for a headright. Several persons in the colony were named John Hollis. Copley may have referred to the John Hallowes (Hollis) whom Thomas Cornwallis claimed to have brought to Maryland in 1635 and for whom Cornwallis claimed a headright. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber ABH, Folio 60, Maryland State Archives. Copley also stated that Mary Jennings and John Hilliard arrived in 1633. In 1650 he claimed that Andrew White brought them to Maryland in 1633, as well as James killed at Mattapanient and ffra, a mulatto. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 160; Copley's first list claimed Francisco arrived in 1637. The only James on the first list was James Thornton listed as coming in 1633. Pulton did not mention Jennings or Hilliard, and he listed Francisco and James Thornton as coming in 1635. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 37–38, Maryland State Archives.
9. Elisabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas, *Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1968), 23–25.
10. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folios 18, 37, 38. See Liber 1, Folio 19, 166; Liber ABH, Folio 65–66, Maryland State Archives; *Archives of Maryland*, 3:258.
11. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 37, 38, Maryland State Archives; Gibb, *A Supplement to the Early Settlers of Maryland*; Liber ABH, Folio 65, 66, Maryland State Archives.
12. New Conditions of Plantation. Provisions No. 5 and No. 6, against the tenure of land in mortmain. Thomas Hughes, *History of The Society of Jesus in North America: Documents Volume 1 Part 1 nos. 1–140 (1605–1838)* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1908), 162.
13. Edwin Warfield Beitzell states that Pulton, also known as Father John Brock, died in April 1641. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Abell, Md.: St. Mary's County Bicentennial Commission, 1960), 6. Pulton, however, wrote a letter dated May 3, 1641. Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Documents Volume 1*

Part 1 nos. 1–140 (1605–1838), 119–21. B. U. Campbell states that he died on June 5, 1641. See Campbell, “Early Christian Missions Among the Indians of Maryland,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1 (1906): 293. Pulton probably died before July 27, 1641, when Copley demanded land based on Pulton’s prior demand. A marginal note to an early transcript of a title to St. Inigoe’s history states “Perez Fedinando was shot in a boat, as Mrs. Doyne relates by tradition, from her father Matthews. Taken from the margin. Soon after Ferdinando Pulton dyes (or was shott by accident, as says Mrs. Doyne), and Mr. Copley, in whom the equitable right was, the said Poulton being only his Trustee, petitions for and obtains a second warrant.” Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal: Documents Volume 1*, 201–2. The Annual Letter 1642 stated that only three priests were in the mission for the year 1642, and Pulton (Brock) was not one of them. Robert Emmett Curran, ed., *American Jesuit Spirituality: The Maryland Tradition, 1634–1900* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 68.

14. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 115–16 (previously Liber F, Folio 134), Maryland State Archives.

15. Liber B (also missing now) as transcribed in Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 166, Maryland State Archives.

16. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber ABH, Folio 166, Maryland State Archives; *Archives of Maryland*, 3:258.

17. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 20, Maryland State Archives. Andrews suggested that Francisco was one of the four servants from Virginia mentioned in the 1638 annual letter of the Jesuits. Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (1965), 3. But Copley’s initial list cannot be trusted for dates since it labeled all others who came in 1634 or 1635 as having come in 1633.

18. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 1, Folio 37 and Liber ABH, Folio 66, Maryland State Archives. No further mention of Francisco has been found beyond these headright references.

19. *Archives of Maryland*, 3:258–59.

20. Until 1753 the new year began on March 25. The New Style or Gregorian calendar was promulgated by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, but England and its possessions followed the Old Style calendar for another 170 years. In addition to beginning the year on March 25, the Old Style calendar was ten days behind the New Style, so Old Style March 25 was April 4 in the New Style calendar. The difference widened to eleven days in 1700. The English Calendar (New Style) Act of 1750 took effect in 1752 with the day following September 2 becoming September 14. The year 1753 began the following January 1. Barbara A. Chernow and George A. Vallasi, eds., *The Columbia Encyclopedia, Fifth Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 421–22. All references to dates in the rest of this article will use a bracket to indicate the year according to modern usage when that differs from the Old Style year, e.g. January 1, 1633[4] or March 24, 1633[4].

21. Price was noted as black to distinguish him from “White” John Price. Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber ABH, Folio 66, Maryland State Archives. Pulton’s claim specified at one point that John Price Senior was known as Black John Price and John Price Junior was known as White John Price. *Ibid.*, Liber 1, Folio 38. Thus “Black” John Price was probably Caucasian. Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate; An Intimate and Objective History of the Province of Maryland to the Overthrow of Proprietary Rule in 1654, with Accounts of Lord Baltimore’s Settlement at Avalon* (Washington, D.C.: Published by Author, 1961), 246–47.

22. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:117, 172.

23. Susan Rosenfeld Falb, “Matthias da Sousa: Colonial Maryland’s Black, Jewish Assemblyman,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73 (1978): 397.

24. H. L. Mencken traced the word mulatto in English use to the sixteenth century where it was apparently a reference to the immediate offspring of a black and a white person. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language: An Enquiry into the Development of English in the United States: Supplement 1* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 630. In Portugal, "Mulato, meaning 'mule,' came into widespread use only in the sixteenth century and described persons of mixed descent." A. C. De C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441–1555* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982), xiii.

25. "An Act for keeping of Register of Birthes Marriages and Burialls in each Respective County," *Archives of Maryland* 7:76; Proceedings of the Council 1667–1687/8, *Archives of Maryland*, VOLUME 5: 267.

26. In Africa, some white middlemen or "factors" stayed on the coast and arranged for sales of slaves with native merchants. The children of the factors might be sold in the trade, but statistically the chances of finding a mulatto would be far greater in Europe or the West Indies. See Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Crowley, *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518–1865* (New York: Viking Press, 1962), 32–33.

27. John Kelly Thornton, "Early Kongo-Portuguese Relations: A New Interpretation," *History in Africa* 8 (1981): 183; and Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750," *Journal of African History*, 25 (1984): 148n7. Edward F. Terrar noted that a number of Sousas were prominent in the Congo and concluded that de Sousa was a Portuguese-Congo mulatto. The coincidence of names is suggestive even if it is not conclusive. Terrar, *Social, Economic, and Religious Beliefs Among Maryland Catholic People During the Period of the English War 1639–1660* (Bethesda, Md.: Catholic Scholars Press, 1996), 280. On the other hand, Terrar's assertion that de Sousa immigrated from Portugal is mistaken. *Ibid.*, 109, 280. He confused de Sousa with Mathias de Costa. Mathias De Costa from Portugal immigrated in 1664 (Maryland Provincial Patents, Liber 8, folio 129) and was naturalized in 1671 (*Archives of Maryland*, 2:330).

28. Falb, "Mathias de Sousa," 398n4; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776*, 3 vols. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), 1:335; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day, Volume I* (Baltimore: J. B. Piet, 1879), 66.

29. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 39.

30. Falb, "Matthias da Sousa," 397.

31. See "A Relation of Maryland" in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910). Commenting on an earlier draft of this paper, Lois Carr noted that John Thornton thought there was a high probability that White met de Sousa in Lisbon, when White was assigned there, and de Sousa went to England with White and thence to Maryland.

32. "Annual Letter of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 1634" and "Annual Letter of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 1638" in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 118, 120.

33. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:84, 85. The notation of the debt in tobacco reflects the use of tobacco as the medium of exchange.

34. One of Snow's debtors was Thomas White, who was listed as a servant of Robert Wintour in the inventory of Wintour's estate in 1638. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:85. White was listed at a quarter of the value of the next least valuable servant, which indicates either that White's term of service was virtually complete at the time of Wintour's death so that he could have contracted with Snow after his freedom or that White was infirm and not valuable. A document in 1638 referred to "Thomas white of St Maries Esq aged 60 years and upwards," but the unlikely coincidence that Thomas the servant was exactly the same age as Father Andrew

White suggests that this was an instance in which Andrew was referred to as Thomas White.

35. Aubrey Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (repr. Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981), 26–27.

36. Garry Wheeler Stone, “Fur Traders and Field Hands: Blacks in Manorial Maryland 1634–1644,” Maryland State Archives web site, 3.

37. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:138.

38. The editors of the *Archives of Maryland* thought the “Mr Pulton” who hired de Sousa was Alexander Pulton. Alexander Pulton appeared as attorney for Mrs. Francis White in a lawsuit in November 1642 as noted in the records only a few pages after de Sousa’s deposition. This apparently led the *Archives* editors to index all references to a “Mr. Pulton” in court records from 1640–42, including the statement of de Sousa, as references to Alexander Pulton. In addition, Alexius Pulton served as “surgeon” in a three-week expedition against the Susquehannock Indians that began on September 21, 1642. *Archives of Maryland*, 3:119, 122. Pulton’s activity as surgeon in 1642 suggests that he was the Mr. Pulton who was paid for “physick” in the accounts for the estate of Richard Lee in 1639. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:107.

39. Helen C. Rountree and Thomas E. Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 85, 86. See letter from The General Vitelleschi to Henry More, Provincial dated September 3, 1639, in Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal: Documents Volume 1*, 23.

40. “We take with us a little chest of bread, butter, cheese, corn, cut and dried before it is ripe, beans and a little flour — another chest, also, for carrying bottles, one of which contains wine for religious purposes, six others holy water for the purpose of baptism; a box with the sacred vessels, and a slab as an altar for the sacred function; and another casket full of trifles, which we give the Indians to conciliate their affection — such as little bells, combs, knives, fish-hooks, needles, thread and other things of this kind.” “Annual Letter of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 1642” in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, 136–37.

41. Rountree and Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*.

42. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:87 (warrant to Braithwait as commander of Kent October 12, 1640; Giles Brent as Treasurer summoned personally). *Archives of Maryland*, 1:103 (warrant to Commander of Kent dated July 16, 1641). *Archives of Maryland*, 1:104 (return of William Braithwait for Kent certifying election of Brent and Adams July 28, 1641). *Archives of Maryland*, 1:114 (Brent styled Councillor to the Province, January 12, 1641/2). *Archives of Maryland*, 1:127 (writ to Giles Brent to assemble freemen of Kent June 24, 1642).

43. As the holder of the manor he had power to hold court and control inhabitants with respect to minor offenses. See Erich Isaac, “Kent Island: Part III: Kent Fort Manor,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 52 (1957): 226.

44. Brent was summonsed as a councillor in January of 1638/9 (*Archives of Maryland*, 1:27). He took his oath as a councillor and was appointed treasurer for the colony on March 20 (*Archives of Maryland*, 3:85). He was commissioned as captain of the militia in May, apparently as part of a proposed expedition against the Susquehannocks (*Archives of Maryland*, 3:86–87). Brent was commissioned as Commander of Kent Island in February 1639/40 (*Archives of Maryland*, 3:88) and again in December 1642 (*Archives of Maryland*, 3:124) and a councillor and acting governor in April 1643 (*Archives of Maryland*, 3:130–31).

45. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:139. This entry is on the same page of the court records as de Sousa’s deposition, but it is dated November 4, the following day.

46. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:117–18 (suit by Cornwallis for 362 pounds tobacco and one and one-half pounds beaver); *Archives of Maryland*, 4:120 (suit by Calvert for 350 pounds); *Archives of Maryland*, 4:152, 158, 161 (suit by Fenwick for six hundred pounds for killing a steer calf).

47. At least two men had the same name, John Hollis carpenter and John Hollis planter. Prettiman's creditor was probably the planter, who lived in Saint Michaels, as did Prettiman. Hollis came with Cuthbert Fenwick in 1633. They were aboard a pinnace that fought with Claiborne's men in 1635, and in March 1639 they were both commissioned to search and seize all vessels trading illicitly with the Indians. Bozman, *History of Maryland*, 2:115, citing council proceedings from 1636 to 1657, 38. In March of 1643 John Hollis himself was warned for trading with the Indians without a license. See *Archives of Maryland*, 4:186. See also *Archives of Maryland*, 4:117 for acknowledgment of one thousand pounds tobacco debt to Hollis dated May 27, 1642.
48. *Archives of Maryland*, 4:162.
49. *Ibid.*, 4:138.
50. Father Andrew White, "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage Unto Maryland," in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, 42. "A Relation of a Voyage Made by Mr. Cyprian Thorowgood to the Head of the Baye, April 25 to May 15, 1634," 13.
51. "Claiborne v. Clobery et al. in the High Court of Admiralty," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 27 (1932): 344. See also J. Frederick Fausz, "Present at the 'Creation': The Chesapeake World that Greeted the Maryland Colonists," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 17.
52. Bozman, *The History of Maryland*, 2:183 citing council proceedings from 1636 to 1657 at 52, 56. Bozman thought the Indians in question were the Ozines, and not the Susquehannocks. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:105, 107, 117–18. See Frances Jennings, "Indians and Frontiers in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in Quinn, ed., *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, 216, 219, and Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History*, 44–45. In October John Lewger brought an information against Brent alleging that Brent had proposed the expedition against the Indians, got power to do it but did not follow through. (*Archives of Maryland*, 4:128–32, 135–36, 140–41, 151–52, 155–56, 159–61, 164.) Consequently Brent did not receive an appointment as a councilor in September 1642 (*Archives of Maryland*, 3:114). A jury found for Brent, and the court found for him on December 12 (*Archives of Maryland*, 3:156). Thus he was cleared to return to the council and was able to act as governor pro tem when Calvert left for England. See An Act for an Expedition against the Indians—September 1642, *Archives of Maryland*, 1:196. *Ibid.*, 3:119, 122.
53. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:119, 120.
54. *Ibid.*, 1:87–90, 103–5.
55. David W. Jordan, "Elections and Voting in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 77 (1982): 238, 239.
56. See Stone at p. 8; *Archives of Maryland* 1:115–120.
57. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:152–53.
58. *Ibid.*, 4:155.
59. *Ibid.*, 4:173, 174.
60. *Ibid.*, 4:138.
61. *Ibid.*, 4:138.
62. *Ibid.*, 4:156. This is the last reference to de Sousa in the records. Whether he served his term, fled the province, or died is not known.

The C R U E L M A S S A C R E

Of the PROTESTANTS, in

North America;

Shewing how the French and Indians
join together to scalp the English, and
the manner of their Scalping, &c. &c.



Printed and Sold in Aldermay Church-Yard,
Bow Lane, L O N D O N.

A 1760 pamphlet depicting the barbarism of the Indians and their French allies, and the valor of British troops—two themes common in the British and American popular literature of the French and Indian War. (Courtesy, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.)

The Legend of Braddock's Gold Reconsidered

GORDON KERSHAW

One of the most durable legends of western Maryland, believed by many yet untraceable as to its origins, concerns the fate in the French and Indian War of General Edward Braddock's gold. Belief in the legend is widespread. Sometimes it appears that almost every native of the region has his own account of the tale. A generic version has it that after General Braddock's defeat and death at the hands of the French at the battle of the Monongahela in July 1775, a handful of his soldiers was detailed to carry the army's war chest, packed with a fortune in gold and silver, back to his base at Fort Cumberland. At some point along the way, either because of Indian threats or physical exhaustion, the men buried the treasure, intending to recover it later. They never returned, and at the core of this enduring legend is the tantalizing clue that the secret died with them and the cache of gold is still out there—somewhere. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, historians have looked for and examined original sources relating to the Braddock expedition that might indicate the fate of the military chest. At the same time, as secretive but eager gold seekers attempted to locate the hoard, variations of the original legend proliferated.

One local journalist, J. William Hunt, became engrossed in the tale and created his own version:

There is considerable historical basis for the belief that somewhere between Braddock's Run junction with Will's Creek and Braddock's grave (50 miles west of Cumberland) there is buried a chest of British gold and silver carried from Fort Cumberland in 1755 by Braddock's Army for the purpose of paying officers and men after the expected capture of Fort Duquesne from the French. Instead of victory, there was "Braddock's Defeat." The chest of gold never got back to Cumberland and the French did not list it in their detailed account of captured equipment, papers, arms, and supplies. It must have been hidden some place enroute back to Cumberland.¹

Hunt, a well-loved, highly respected writer and civic leader, worked as editor of the *Cumberland Sunday Times* from 1925 until his retirement in 1957. His col-

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umn, "Across the Desk," continued after his retirement in the *Cumberland Evening Times* for a total of twenty-four years, ending only with his tragic death in an automobile accident in May 1968. He addressed many subjects in his column over the years, and often wrote about local history and genealogy. It would not be too much to say that several generations of western Marylanders learned their local history through Mr. Hunt's articles. He, more than anyone else, kept the legend of Braddock's gold alive.

Over the twenty-four-year-period, Hunt wrote no less than twenty articles about the Braddock expedition and made passing references to it in a number of other columns. In his first Braddock essay, published on December 9, 1945, Hunt examined French accounts of the battle near Fort Duquesne and the experiences of George Washington as a member of the expedition. He did not mention the lost treasure, a subject he first touched upon eight years later, on July 12, 1953:

"Braddock's buried treasure" might well be brought into the picture at this point, but there is so little information available on this persistent tradition that it is not deserving of too much serious consideration. The British general's chest, containing about \$125,000 (American value) for payroll and other expense purposes is said to have been buried somewhere along the line of retreat back to Fort Cumberland. But fairly frequent efforts to uncover any such treasure have proved futile.

Hunt raised the issue again on January 13, 1957, in response to the assertions of Whitney Bolton, a nationally syndicated columnist, that Irish leprechauns were guarding the hoard. Hunt repeated one of the best known of the local legends, that Braddock, "fully confident that he would drive the French and their Indian allies from Fort Duquesne . . . was determined to have enough money on hand to tide him over the first few weeks of administration on the banks of the Ohio." After Braddock's defeat and death, an armed guard attempted to carry the gold back to Fort Cumberland, but two men were killed and three others wounded. The rest decided to bury the treasure, leaving one man on guard while the others returned to the fort for help. They never reached the place. The fever-stricken survivor was found wandering along Wills Creek about ten days later. He was never afterward able to locate the spot where the gold was buried, other than "where Braddock Run divided—or maybe where it emptied into Wills Creek." Hunt next related a tale told by one Hugh O'Rourke of Westernport, with the variation that the gold had been buried "along one of the small streams feeding the Savage River from Franklin Hill." A leprechaun had been guarding the gold ever since. This must have been one of the elves that had accompanied the two Irish-based regiments to defeat at the Monongahela. It is well known, of course, that leprechauns tradition-

ally guard treasure hoards. The story was too good not to be repeated by Hunt for his St. Patrick's Day column of March 17, 1957.

Encouraged by a growing and appreciative audience, the writer continued to elaborate on the popular theme. On May 11, 1958, he announced that

There is no question about Braddock taking gold coin from here in his advance against Fort Duquesne 203 years ago next month. The thousands of English pounds and American Pine Tree shillings carried in one or two large chests were to be paid to the English and American soldiers after they would drive the French from the Ohio. . . . Collectors pay fortunes for the Pine Tree shillings, and 200-year old British coins will bring fabulous prices in today's market.

One might well wonder how seventeenth-century Massachusetts pine tree shillings could have found their way so far south, but Hunt continued to print new versions of the story, sometimes striking down those that did not conform to his developing pattern. As examples, a feature story in the *Pittsburgh Press* concluded that Braddock's men had simply dumped the money chest into the Monongahela River for later recovery. Responding to the article, reader Edward Williams wrote and declared that there *was no* Braddock treasure. Hunt dismissed the *Pittsburgh Press* article as being "rather less than scholarly," adding that he "was not a bit impressed" with Williams' conclusion. He then quoted Hugh O'Rourke's verdict that "someone is always taking the fun out of life."²

In 1966, Hunt added a new variation that nevertheless conformed to the general outlines of a now-familiar tale. Here, a Cumberland man whose ancestor Giles had served in Braddock's army, was driving his wagon back from Grantsville after dark in May 1881. Not far from the top of Meadow Mountain a huge boulder rolled onto the highway and frightened the horse. Suddenly, an old man carrying a huge crowbar came hurrying down the hill and volunteered that he was digging for Braddock's hoard. When the Cumberland man mentioned that his ancestor Giles had served with Braddock, the old man's eyes lit up. He exclaimed, "Why, he was a messmate of my father's, and the two were among the six guards who had charge of transporting the treasure back to Fort Cumberland after Braddock's defeat." He claimed the gold had been buried "at a point near the junction of two streams." The old man had spent much of his life searching along the Casselman, the Youghiogheny, and Wills Creek as far as The Narrows at Cumberland, but without success. He then begged the Cumberlander to join the search and share the treasure, but he was refused. Of course, the old man was never seen again.

Why was it that after declaring in 1953 that the treasure legend was "not deserving of too much serious consideration" Hunt continued to feature the tale until the year of his death? The answer is simple: it was a good yarn and it captured

the public interest. Hunt titled his August 18, 1963, column "Most Persistent Interest in any Area Historical Subject Concerns Braddock's Buried Treasure—Inquiries Come from All Over U.S. and Canada." He commented in 1967 that "Every spring there are inquiries from Boy Scout leaders about probable sites for beginning a treasure hunt for the missing gold and silver coins." The veteran journalist reported that when he spoke to "75 or 80 social studies teachers at the opening of the school year the only subject which elicited more than one question from the teachers was Braddock's missing payroll coin." Actually, Hunt had issued a call to local residents to search for the treasure as early as 1958. Furthermore, he publicized plans made to find it, including the efforts of a group of Chicagoans led by one Ted Urice, a former Cumberlander, and a troop of Explorer Scouts in the summer of 1958. In 1963 he even offered legal advice to prospective treasure-hunters.³ Hunt never described the outcomes of these searches in his column. Had the gold been found, that would have ended public interest in the story, but of course that never happened. In the meantime, the legend was a journalist's dream—a story that wouldn't go away. Perhaps, before his death in 1968, Hunt even came to believe it himself.

During his many years of preoccupation with the Braddock legend, Hunt continued to research the details of the general's defeat, searching for clues about the treasure hoard and occasionally advising his readers of new developments. William Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland* and John Thomas Scharf's *History of Western Maryland* were sources often consulted in his research, but neither proved helpful. Lowdermilk never mentioned the lost gold and silver, and Scharf was downright discouraging, emphasizing that "All the artillery and ammunition, baggage, provisions, wagons, and many horses were lost. The general lost his military chest, containing, it is said, £25,000 in specie (\$125,000) and all his papers."

Even more threatening to the legend, Scharf described Colonel Dunbar's destruction of the military supplies on Laurel Hill Mountain after the battle of the Monongahela. The nineteenth-century historian cautioned readers that despite local traditions, Dunbar had ordered field pieces and even money buried near camp. Many people had dug in search of them, but the story, Scharf insisted, was false. Scharf cited a letter written by Dunbar to the acting British commander in North America, Governor William Shirley, dated August 21, 1755, that stated "we must beg to undeceive you in what you are pleased to mention of guns being buried at the time General Braddock ordered the stores to be destroyed, for there was not a gun of any kind buried."⁴ On the other hand, *The History of Allegany County, Maryland*, written by James W. Thomas and T. J. Williams, proved more fruitful for Hunt. Here, in this 1923 work, appears the "mysterious old man" story in a much more complete version than that reprinted in Hunt's column.⁵ Thomas and Williams, however, considered the story to be strictly legend.

Hunt's articles often mentioned new works that shed further light on the Braddock expedition. Hunt applauded the publication of Lee McCardell's *Ill-*

Fated General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards (1958). McCardell was a journalist with local ties. Hunt's review of this work was generally favorable, although he regretted that McCardell had not devoted more space to the building of Braddock's Road. He wrote enthusiastically about Charles Hamilton's *Braddock's Defeat* (1960) that contained a newly discovered original source, the journal of "Captain Chomley's Batman." Through a reading of Winthrop Sargent's old work, *History of the Braddock Expedition* (1855), Hunt became familiar with "Captain Robert Orme's Journal" and the so-called "Seaman's Journal."⁶ He also studied Braddock's two orderly books, included in the appendix of Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland*. Unfortunately for the Braddock treasure legend, eyewitness accounts either failed to mention the money chest or stated positively that it had been abandoned at the Monongahela. Hunt never addressed these points in his articles. Finally, in the course of several well-publicized trips to England, he investigated old documents in the British Museum and wrote of several "finds" of peripheral or background interest to the Braddock expedition, many of which had been printed elsewhere. He would have done better to visit the Public Record Office. It is unfortunate that he was not familiar with a work published by Stanley Pargellis in 1936, *Military Affairs in North America, 1748–1765*, a documentary sourcebook printed from the official papers of the Duke of Cumberland. Included were several Braddock letters and a number of contemporary accounts of the battle, one of them a French source. The most scholarly, and probably the most accurate recounting of the British defeat was not published until several years after Hunt's death—Paul E. Kopperman's *Braddock at the Monongahela* (1977). Kopperman based his reconstruction of the battle upon a consideration of twenty-two first-hand British and American versions of the event and five French accounts, all of them written long after the battle. Kopperman analyzed each for accuracy and credibility. This work, if available, might have influenced Hunt's interpretation of the Braddock legend.

In retrospect, J. William Hunt's articles were absorbing and contained a great deal of useful information about the history of western Maryland. Undoubtedly he inspired many to further pursue their study of the region. With reference to the fate of Braddock's gold, however, he exhibited a pronounced bias, protecting the legend while attacking opposing theories and censoring historical sources that tended to discredit local tradition. His contribution to the folklore of western Maryland, on this and other topics, is useful, but, in the case of the Braddock money chest, fact and folklore became hopelessly intertwined.

THE LEGEND HAS BEEN EXAMINED, but what were the facts? What did happen to Braddock's gold? To place this question in proper perspective we must necessarily examine much besides local tradition and even the existing accounts of the battle of the Monongahela.

In 1755 England and France were not officially at war, despite frontier hostili-



British General Edward Braddock (1695–1755), arrived in the North American colonies with two regiments and specific instructions to capture all of the French forts along the Ohio River. (Maryland Historical Society)

ties the previous year—the construction of a fort on the Ohio River by the Ohio Company of Virginia, its subsequent French capture and completion as Fort Duquesne, and the defeat of George Washington's Virginia militia at Fort Necessity. But because a major war with France was in the offing, the British high command decided to make a preventive first strike. As planned by the Captain-General, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland and second son of George II, the British would send two regiments to America and create in addition several colonial regiments, all to be under the command of Edward Braddock, an undistinguished sixty-year-old career officer with a lifetime of garrison duty but no combat experience. His instructions allowed for no deviation: Braddock, with two regiments of British regulars, was to proceed from Virginia to the Potomac and Wills Creek. From there he was to march to the Ohio and capture all of the French strongholds, including forts Duquesne, Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presqu' Isle. Upon securing the forts, Braddock was to leave a garrison of three militia companies at Fort Duquesne and march immediately to his next objective, the reduction of the French forts Niagara and Oswego on the New York frontier. Here his men would be reinforced by two new colonial regiments led by Sir William Shirley and Sir William Pepperrell, who had each proved their worth at the capture of Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, in 1745. If not needed by Braddock at Niagara, the two American regiments were to drive the French from Crown Point and Fort Carillon on Lake Champlain. Assigned a lower priority was the capture of Fort Beausejour in Nova Scotia, the primary responsibility of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Lawrence and his Nova Scotia and Newfoundland contingents.⁷ At the end of the summer's campaign, Braddock's troops were to march into winter quarters in Philadelphia.

Braddock gained command of the 44th Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Sir Peter Halkett, and the 48th, led by Colonel Thomas Dunbar—both then stationed in Ireland and critically short of men. Reduced to about 340 men each, their numbers increased to nearly five hundred each by drafting soldiers from several other regiments. Once they arrived in the colonies, the British and colonial authorities agreed to increase the size of the two regiments to 700 men each with recruits from Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas. Braddock paid out £3 sterling as a cash bonus to each recruit, more if absolutely necessary. Most of the recruits came from Virginia and, the British officers believed, were miserable specimens at best. Once on American soil, Braddock's regiments were to be augmented by three Virginia militia companies, one volunteer company each from North Carolina and Maryland, a one hundred-man-carpenter's company, and thirty sailors under the command of Lt. Charles Spendelow—on loan with four twelve-pound cannon from Commodore Augustus Keppel.

By British army standards, the Braddock expedition was extraordinarily well-equipped, as a surviving inventory indicates. Called "A Proportion of Brass Ordnance, Howitzers, and Stores for the Intended Expedition to North America," it enumerated four brass twelve-pound cannon, six six-pounders, four eight-inch brass howitzers, and fifteen brass Cohern mortars. Braddock also carried with him spare gun carriages, extra wheels, shot, harnesses, lanterns, entrenching tools, ramrods, tents, tin plates, flags, three sets of breastplates, sixteen covered wagons, a surgeon's apothecary chest and set of instruments and, for the paymaster, an iron chest with two sets of scales for weighing coins. Not included were horses, which, like most of the wagons, were to be purchased in the colonies. Aboard the transports were food supplies for six months, including a thousand barrels of beef and ten tons of butter.⁸ Even so, additional supplies would have to be purchased in the colonies before the regiments moved into action. Henry Fox, secretary of war, estimated the total cost of the expedition at £50,000 sterling.

The vanguard of Braddock's army, including the general and his entourage left Cork for Virginia on December 23, 1754, aboard the *Norwich*. Other transports did not leave Ireland until January, beginning what was to be a dreary, stormy, winter passage. The *Norwich* did not make port at Hampton, Virginia, until February 19, 1755; other ships straggled in and the last arrived on March 18. General Braddock immediately went to Williamsburg to meet with Governor Dinwiddie. He could not confer with Colonel Sir John St. Clair, his quartermaster-general, for that resourceful organizer had moved on to Winchester recruiting colonials for the army.⁹ St. Clair and Braddock had to assemble, equip, and supply an effective fighting force as rapidly as possible.

The British government had built a mighty war machine, but it naturally expected that the colonial governments would also do their share. Braddock's

instructions were to “cultivate the best Friendship & Harmony possible with the Governours of the Provinces, & the Chiefs of the Indian Tribes; & should transmit, by every opportunity, particular Accounts of his Transactions and situation, to His Majesty’s Secretary of State.” His orders also directed him to pressure the colonial governors to establish a common fund to be used for military expenditures in the coming war.¹⁰ Upon his arrival in America, then, Braddock’s immediate mission was not to open a military campaign but to raise additional men, money, transportation, and supplies. The £14,000 sterling he was reputed to have brought with him would not be enough. While at Williamsburg, Braddock issued orders that his army was to advance from Hampton to Alexandria. Anticipating the payment of his troops at the end of the campaign, he penned a quick letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, requesting that

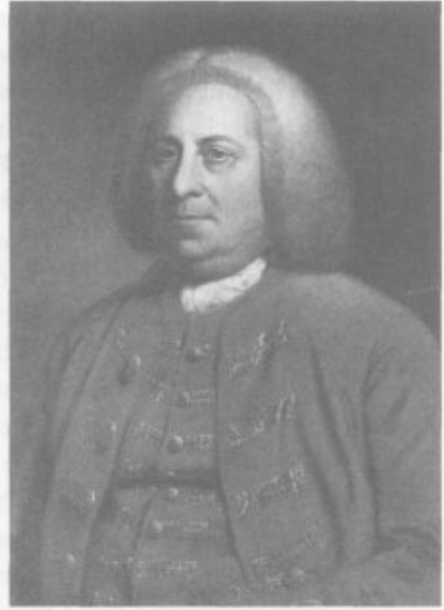
As small coined silver will be greatly wanted for the payment of the troops, and as no considerable quantity of it can be got in this Province; I must beg of your Grace to direct the Contractors, Mr. Hanbury and Mr. Thomlinson, to send over as soon as possible, in Piastrines & Half Piastrines: which is the more necessary, as all the money already brought over by the Regimental Paymasters is in Spanish Gold and Dollars.¹¹

Writing this letter at the end of March, the general could hardly have expected the specie’s arrival before the end of the summer.

At Williamsburg, Braddock received encouraging news from the governor. The House of Burgesses had already voted £20,000 in support of the expedition, and Dinwiddie had for some months been placing contracts for beef, pork, dried codfish, salt, and flour—rations expected to sustain the troops for eight months. Eleven hundred cattle were to be delivered to Fort Cumberland, the western outpost designated as a springboard for the assault on the French. Dinwiddie was also recruiting troops for the two regiments. Sixteen wagons were then under construction, but he estimated that at least one hundred would be needed. Less encouraging was Dinwiddie’s report that, while the North Carolina Assembly had voted £8,000 to support the expedition, the Maryland Assembly had yet to take action, and the Pennsylvania House had adjourned without voting a penny of support. Braddock later learned that the Maryland government had finally granted £6,000 but wrote in disgust that “Pennsylvania, though by far the richest and most prosperous colony of any upon the continent, as well as most nearly interested in the event of the expedition, [has] as yet, contributed nothing.”

Taking his staff to Alexandria to join the troops, Braddock established his headquarters at the Carlyle house. His men considered the little town of Alexan-

Virginia Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie (1693–1770) recruited troops and collected supplies for Braddock's mission. (Louis Koontz, Robert Dinwiddie: His Career in American Colonial Government and Westward Expansion. [Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1941].)



dria a hardship post, for there was nothing to buy, and even the drinking water was unwholesome. The soldiers found little to buy save cider and a strong peach brandy. "For their encouragement, so they may do their duty like good soldiers," Braddock posted on Easter Sunday an order that every Irishman in his command be credited with twenty shillings pay. The response was a rip-roaring drunk.¹²

But the general had already made other provisions for his men's pay. On the previous day, March 29, he ordered his paymasters to issue the troops a dollar each (one dollar equaled four shillings ninepence). The next day, Braddock also ordered that "The two regiments from Ireland are to acct. for their men for their pay to the 24th of Feby." Thus the men were paid up to date, but there were also deductions: "The Captains are to take credit for their Watch Coats, Blankets and Flannell Waistcoats brought from Great Britain for their companys."¹³ The general had provided for his men with far more concern than was usual in the eighteenth-century British army; they had ready cash in their pockets. Alexandria, though limited, was the last opportunity they would have to spend their pay for many months to come.

Meanwhile, in order to conform to his instructions and augment his supplies, Braddock made plans for a conference with the northern colonial governors. After repeated delays caused by a harsh winter, several governors reached Alexandria on April 15, 1755. The general and Admiral Keppel met with Horatio Sharpe of Maryland; William Shirley of Massachusetts, who was also a regimental commander; Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia; Robert Hunter Morris of Pennsylvania; and James De Lancey of New York; as well as with Colonel William Johnson, New

York agent for Indian Affairs. Mindful of their parsimonious legislatures, the governors rejected Braddock's orders to secure a common colonial fund to finance the war in America but did approve his other proposals, one of which authorized simultaneous attacks on the French in Nova Scotia, and at Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Duquesne. Disappointed, Braddock wrote the Duke of Newcastle that "As every little assistance has already been offered me by the provinces and still less is to be expected from them, it is necessary to apprise Your Grace that my contingent will be much greater than I had persuaded myself, or than, I believe, Your Grace imagines."¹⁴ The only alternative to colonial contributions was, of course, an increased financial commitment by the crown.

Among the members of Governor DeLancey's staff was young Charles Ward Apthorp of New York City, representative of the Boston firm of Charles Apthorp and Son. The Apthorps were also the northern agents of the London money contractors, John Hanbury and John Thomlinson. The firm's southern agent, John Hunter of Hampton, Virginia, was required to attend, for on him would fall most of the burden of filling Braddock's financial needs as directed by the London contractors. John Hanbury, a rich Quaker merchant, was an important shareholder in the Ohio Company of Virginia. John Thomlinson, of West Indian origin, was a leading London merchant and member of the House of Commons. On orders from the Treasury Department, the partners supplied specie to British forces in North America on a commission basis, receiving a 2 percent profit on their transactions. They were also authorized to raise money in the colonies by selling bills of exchange, an early variety of money orders.¹⁵

General Braddock was definitely short of cash, though the London money contractors did their best to keep him supplied. According to their records, they sent him £5,006.11 in January 1755 aboard the *Betsey*, Captain Castleton, master, and in May 1755, more than £19,000 aboard the *Sphinx* and the *Nancy*.¹⁶ Probably the latter shipment failed to reach the general, forcing him to pressure John Hunter of Virginia for additional funds. His demands became more frantic after his forces moved westward to Fort Cumberland.

The general repeatedly postponed the army's departure because of his impending meeting with the governors, but one advance detail had been ordered to Frederick, and Sir Peter Halkett with six companies of his 44th regiment, left for Winchester as early as April 10.¹⁷ Quartermaster-General Sir John St. Clair was already at Fort Cumberland on Wills Creek. Traveling regally in his own coach, Braddock reached Frederick on April 21. His purpose here was to seek out the horses, cattle, and provisions necessary for the assault on Fort Duquesne. What he found was discouraging: available cattle were scrawny, the horses worse, and forage, in the springtime, was impossible to find. At this juncture, the efforts of Postmaster General Benjamin Franklin undoubtedly saved Braddock's expedition. Franklin had agreed to meet with the general at Frederick, ostensibly to discuss

communications matters, but actually he was determined to assist him in securing supplies, despite the intransigence of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He found Braddock in despair; instead of the promised 150 wagons, he had received only twenty-five, and these in bad condition. As Franklin later told the story:

I happen'd to say, I thought it was pity they [the army] had not been landed rather in Pennsylvania, as in that Country almost every Farmer had his Waggon. The General eagerly laid hold of my Words, and said, "Then you, Sir, who are a Man of Interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will undertake it." I asked what Terms were to be offer'd the Owners of the Waggons; and I was desir'd to put on paper the terms that appear'd to me necessary. This I did, and they were agreed to, and a Commission and Instructions accordingly prepar'd immediately.

Franklin quickly posted advertisements in Lancaster County for the hiring of 150 wagons, each complete with four horses, and 1,500 additional pack horses, using £800 advanced by Braddock and about £200 of his own funds. Within two weeks the general's requirements had been met.¹⁸ Braddock was almost pathetically grateful, writing to a correspondent that "Mr. Franklin undertook and perform'd his Engagements with the greatest readiness and punctuality."¹⁹ Franklin believed Braddock to be a brave man, but better suited to European wars, and much too over-confident. One day, indeed, the general had informed Franklin that:

After taking Fort Duquesne, says he, I am to proceed to Niagara; and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the Season will allow time; and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four Days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my March to Niagara.

Franklin later claimed to have warned the general of the danger of "Ambushcades of Indians," but Braddock only smiled, replying that "These Savages may indeed be a formidable Enemy to your raw American Militia; but upon the king's regular and disciplin'd Troops, Sir, it is impossible they should make any Impression."²⁰

His mission at Frederick complete, Braddock pushed on to Fort Cumberland, arriving on May 10. Here the tedious chore of preparing supplies continued, but there were also Indian allies in the fort to placate, camp followers to discipline, and quarrels to be settled even among the general's own staff. As the sweltering days passed, wagons, horses, cattle, and supplies began to arrive, but the army was still short of fodder, oats, beef, pork, and flour. Even in garrison, the men were on

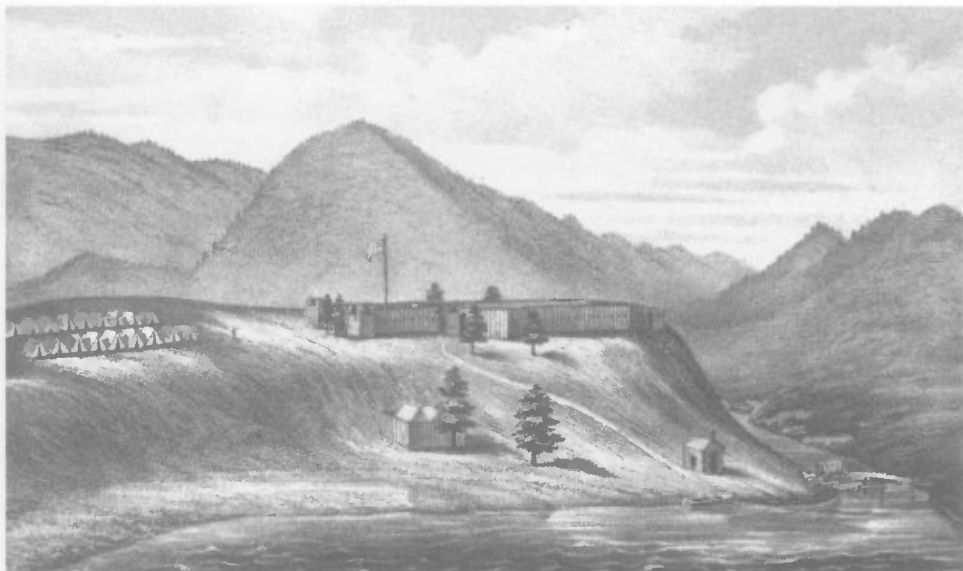
short rations; staff officers also complained of their restrictive diet. However, on the evening of May 20, ninety-one of the teams and wagons Franklin promised arrived in camp.²¹ Furthermore, the Pennsylvania Assembly had contributed twenty pack horses, each laden with a special "package" of foods intended by Franklin for the junior officers.²² The enlisted men were not so lucky. Their biscuit was moldy, and much of the salt beef supplied by the Virginia and Maryland contractors proved unfit for human consumption. Perhaps the worst offender in this respect was Thomas Cresap of Oldtown. On May 12, twenty of his casks of salt beef were condemned as inedible, and on May 14, twenty-two more. Meanwhile, army bakers were busily turning out biscuit for the trek ahead. It was not of good quality; young Michael Cresap, in charge of loading flour from an army storehouse at Conococheage, had packed the substance in casks constructed of green timber which had turned the flour sour. Soldiers nicknamed the elder Cresap "The Rattlesnake Colonel." Lieutenant Spendelowe, commander of the sailors' detachment, called him a "damned rascal." Because Braddock's plans to establish a market within the fort where settlers might sell their produce had failed to materialize, there was nothing for the men to buy except whiskey supplied by the commissary's sutler at twenty shillings per gallon.²³

Meanwhile, Braddock was rapidly running out of cash. Unscrupulous contractors saw to that. On the day of his arrival at Fort Cumberland he dashed off a hasty note to John Hunter, money contract agent at Hampton, Virginia, observing that

You have sent the Deputy Paymaster to me, with only ten thousand Pounds which is not half the Sum I expected, & will do very little more than pay the Ordinary Subsistence of the two Regiments & the Expence incurr'd by the Commissary of Stores and Director of the Hospital, as I cannot stir from this place without fifteen Thousand Pounds more or ten at the least. I send this Express to desire you would get it ready with the utmost Expedition, and the paymaster will be with you in two days after him to receive it.²⁴

When General Braddock's letter reached Hampton on May 19, Hunter was out of town, having gone to Philadelphia, so it remained for his deputy, James Balfour, to take action. Unfortunately, he had little cash on hand. As he wrote to inform Thomlinson and Hanbury that very evening:

Since writing by the same opportunity have this moment rec'd a Letter from the General, a Copy of which you have inclos'd, I shall this moment mount a Horse and wait upon the worthy Govr. Dinwiddie for his [advise]. I can not make up here above £4000 and there is none to be got at any rate, 'til June Court & not certain then.



Fort Cumberland, the British army's western outpost in the campaign for the French forts. (Maryland Historical Society.)

What seems to me at present the best to be done is to deliver the £4000 to the paymaster, and for me to proceed to Philadelphia, and appoint a Time for the General to have an Escort to meet me at a Convenient place to Philadelphia, where if the Money [is] to be had, I can do without losing much time.²⁵

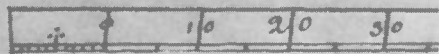
There is no indication that Braddock ever received the additional cash from Philadelphia, but he did get the promised £4,000. George Washington, a colonel of militia serving as the general's aide, brought the money back from Virginia before the end of the month.

By the end of May, Braddock's army was ready to march westward, but the rough wilderness road hacked out by Washington's tiny force the previous summer was inadequate for the passage of an army. Accordingly Braddock ordered that Colonel St. Clair proceed with an advance party of six hundred odd men, half of which were to be employed in the building of a road fit to accommodate the main force. St. Clair's detachment left Fort Cumberland on May 29. Braddock's orderly book notes that although the work crew would be compensated for its efforts, it would not be paid until the army arrived in winter quarters unless public markets became available where the money could be used.²⁶ Braddock's army was

Overleaf: Christopher Gist served as a guide on Braddock's expedition and drew this map of the general's ill-fated campaign. (Courtesy, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.)

From Fort Cumberland	
To the 1 st Grove Camp is	Miles
2 George's Creek	5
3 Lodge River	5
4 Little Meadows	5
5 Laurel run Camp	4
6 Bare Camp	7
7 Dick near big Crossing	8
8 Camp 6th east of Meadows	7
9 Camp 1 st west of D.	7
10 Rock Camp	3
11 Union Camp	2 Miles
11 Light House	8
12 Camp by Stearns	5
13 Over the River	1
14 Camp by Creek	7
15 Jacobs Cabins	5
16 Dick Camp	4
17 Camp 3 rd from Dick	3
18 Monocatoe's Camp	6
19 Blenkins Camp	2
20 head of Big Creek	4
21 Mouth of Little Creek	5
To Fort Duquesne	6

Scale of Miles 15 to an



From Fort Cumberland 116 to Fort Duquesne

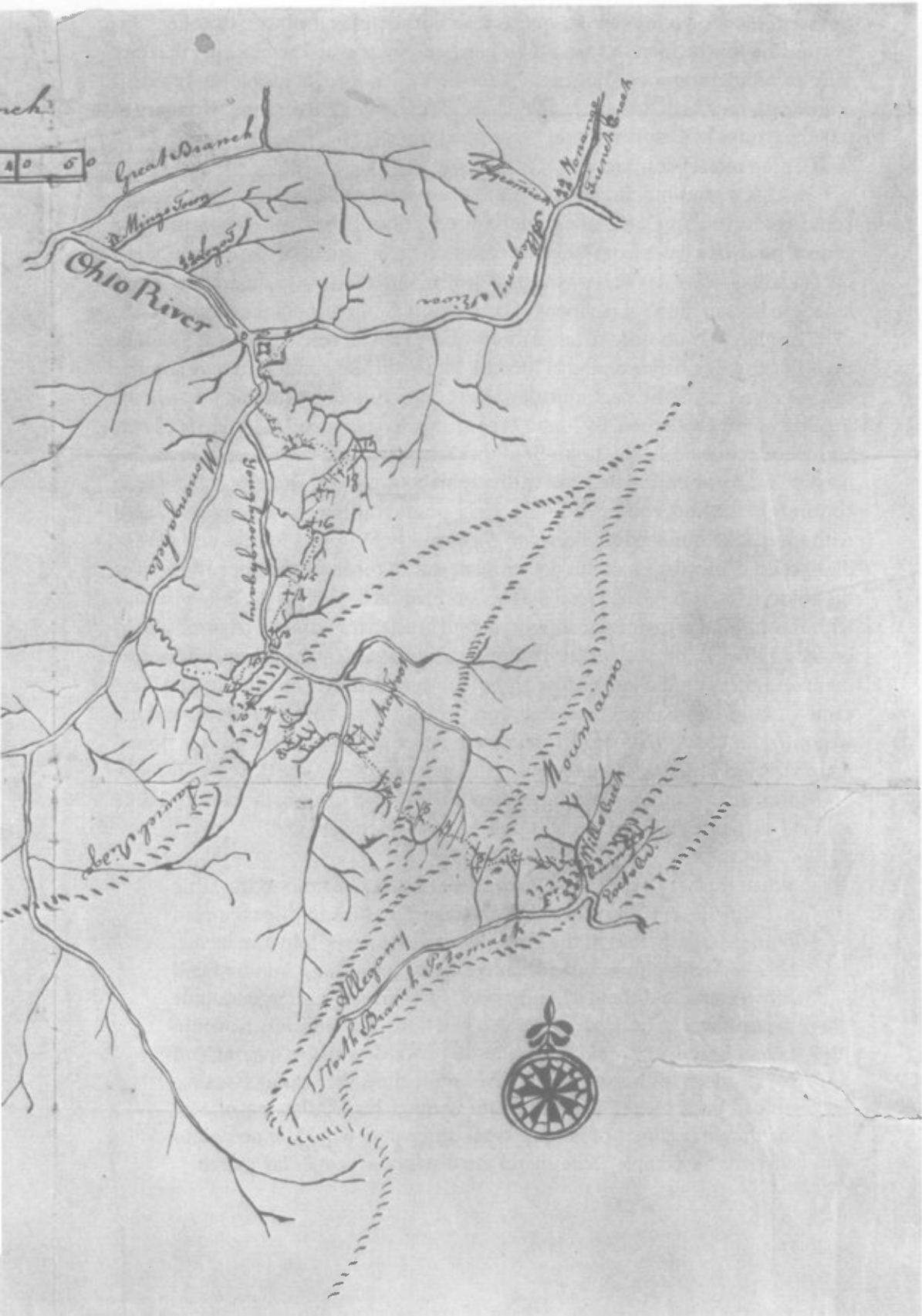
All the General's Camps are marked with a Cross on the black dotted lines

The red lines from N. 10 is Capt. Dobson's Route to the Mouth of Red Stone Creek and back to Light House at N. 11

The red lines from N. 17 is Light House Route to Fort Duquesne and back to the Line of March set out on the 4th July and returned the 6th of July

The Draught of Gen. Braddock's Route towards Fort Duquesne as delivered to Capt. McKellar Engineer

By Philip P. Light
The 15 of Sept. 1755



not scheduled to go into winter quarters in Philadelphia until late October. Opportunities for the men to spend their hard-earned pay before reaching that city were exceedingly remote. The general's decision was not only sensible but saved his scarce cash for much more pressing needs. Consequently, the specie necessary to pay the troops in October would be shipped directly to Philadelphia from England by the money contractors.

St. Clair's road-building progress was exasperatingly slow; Braddock's troops could not leave Fort Cumberland until June 10. Shortly before his departure, the general received a letter from Governor James Glen of South Carolina containing a bill of exchange for £4,000. It was most welcome, but it was not cash; Braddock sent it back to his suppliers for payment of current and future provisions contracts.

The march continued. Advance forces under Halkett reached Martin's Plantation (Frostburg) on the evening of June 14. The main body under Colonel Dunbar did not arrive until the next morning. As the column inched along, horses gave out and wagons collapsed. By June 17 the army was encamped at Little Meadows, far behind schedule. At this point Braddock, acting against the advice of several of his staff, made the critical decision to divide his command. Colonel St. Clair was to continue in the lead, equipped with two six-pound cannon, three wagons loaded with tools, four hundred soldiers, two companies of Virginia militia, and ten Indian scouts. The mission of this detachment was to continue the improvement of the wilderness road. The general and his staff would depart on the following day with most of the armaments, supply wagons, and extra horses. His force would include 550 men, the pick of the regiments; Lieutenant Spendelowe and his seamen; and the Virginia light horse troop commanded by Captain Stewart. Last came Colonel Dunbar's detachment, comprising the rest of the troopers and the wagon train. Ideally, Dunbar's forces were never to be more than three hours' march behind Braddock—in the event this gap stretched to forty miles. Distance probably meant Dunbar's detachment would be spared a role in the coming battle at Fort Duquesne, but the colonel's position was unenviable.

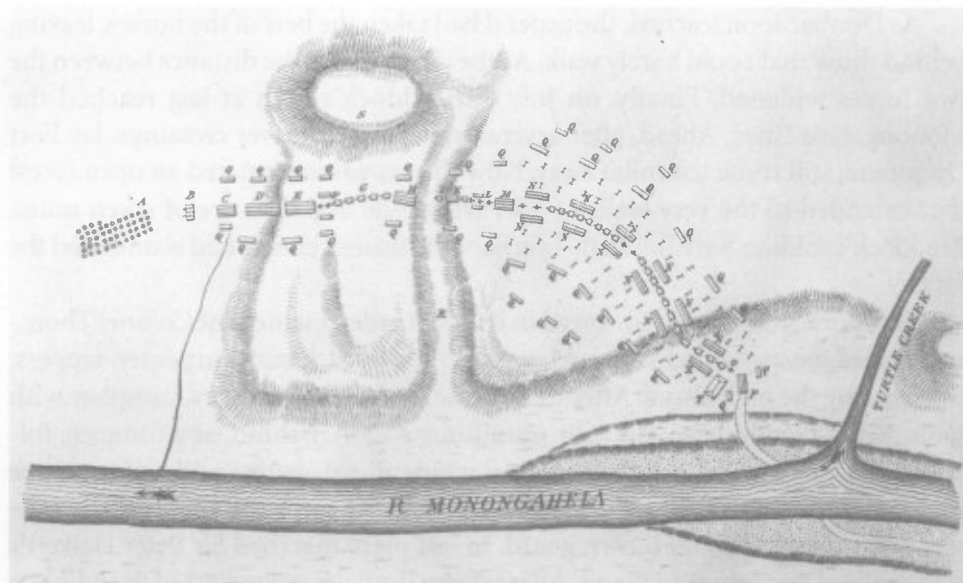
When the last of the special detachment had moved out of the Little Meadows camp, Dunbar called his wagon masters to discuss a plan of march for the rest of the force. To his dismay they told him he had been left with only about a hundred horse teams for a hundred and fifty wagons, and about a hundred and fifty carrying horses for double that number of backloads of bacon and flour. The only way he could follow Braddock would be to shuttle forward as many wagons and backloads as his horses could move at one time, then unhitch teams, unload pack horses, and return for another haul. Allowing no rest for the extra efforts of man or beast, three days would be needed to advance his complete command the distance of a one-day march.

As Dunbar soon learned, the general had taken the best of the horses, leaving behind those that could barely walk. As the days passed, the distance between the two forces widened. Finally, on July 8, Braddock's men at last reached the Monongahela River. Ahead, after several more difficult river crossings, lay Fort Duquesne, still some ten miles away. Now the expedition entered an open forest that extended to the very walls of Fort Duquesne at a distance of seven miles. Braddock's soldiers were jubilant—perhaps the unseen enemy had abandoned the fort.

Braddock's little army advanced in its usual order. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Gage led the way with his grenadiers, followed by St. Clair's carpenter-sappers, still clearing the path ahead. After these came the Virginia rangers, complete with tools, two six-pounders, and their munitions wagon. Behind, at a distance, followed the main body: a light horse detachment, carpenters and sailors, three twelve-pound cannon, Braddock and his general's guard, and finally the howitzers and wagons with their own guard. In last place marched Sir Peter Halkett's rear guard of one hundred men.²⁷ All was calm until the grenadiers of the advance party saw French soldiers and Indians running at them down the trail ahead. Gage's men opened fire.

Captain Daniel Beaujeu, the Canadian-born commander of Fort Duquesne, aware that his stronghold could not withstand a direct assault by Braddock's army, knew he could either abandon the place or attack the English in a more favorable environment. He had decided to take the latter course. On the morning of July 8, Beaujeu and about two hundred French and Canadians were preparing to leave the fort and attack the larger British column alone when at the last moment his Indian allies, 637 warriors representing a half dozen or so tribes, joined him. Beaujeu himself, dressed Indian fashion, led the attack.

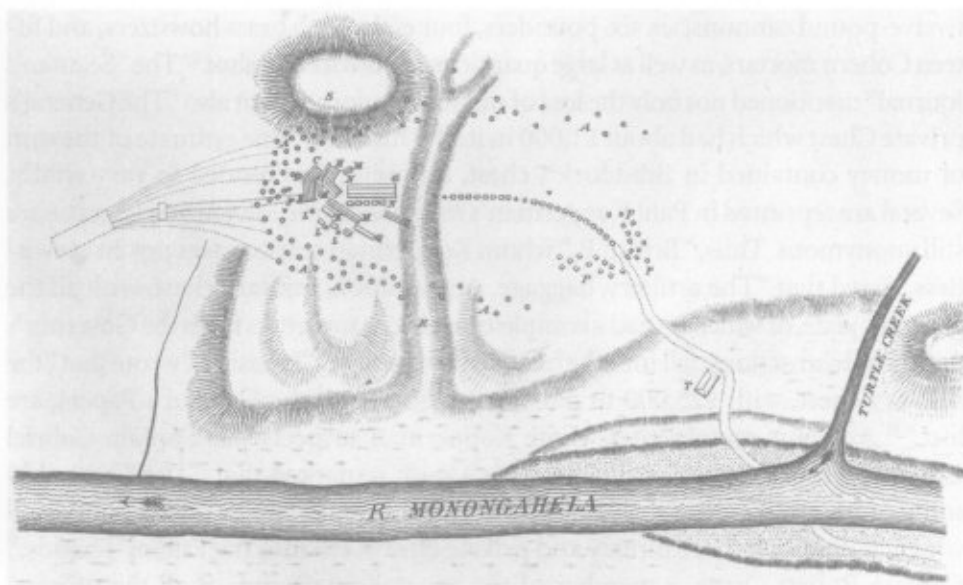
The course of the battle was soon decided. Apart from those in Gage's vanguard, few persons in the command ever saw an Indian. Gage's men rallied and fired several volleys, the third of which killed Captain Beaujeu, one of the very few casualties among the French. Meanwhile, Gage ordered his men to occupy a nearby hill—the high ground necessary for a successful defense, but the attempt failed with the loss of nearly all his officers, killed and wounded. By this time Braddock had arrived with his staff and had ordered Lieutenant Colonel Burton's force of eight hundred men to advance to the head of the column. The scene quickly became chaotic. Gage's retreating men became entangled with Burton's troops in a seething mass pinned down in a crossfire by hidden French and Indian marksmen. British casualties mounted rapidly. Hardest hit of all were the officers, especially those of Braddock's staff. Among the dead were Colonel Sir Peter Halkett and his son, Major James Halkett; Captain Chomondeley, though his batman survived; Lieutenant Spendelow, commander of the sailors' detachment; and William Shirley Jr., Braddock's secretary. Colonel St. Clair and Captain Robert Orme were among



"A Sketch of the Field of Battle of the 9th of July, upon the Monongahela, Seven Miles from Fort Duquesne, Shewing the Disposition of the Troops when the Action began." (Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe [Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1884].)

the wounded, as was Braddock, shot in the arm and side. By four in the afternoon, half of the complement of officers and men had been wounded, and many had exhausted their ammunition. Braddock reluctantly ordered a retreat to Dunbar's wagon train. His officers carried their fallen leader to the rear using his silken sash as a litter.²⁸

On the battleground, all was confusion. Many of the drivers had already unhitched the horses and were riding off in a general retreat. There was no possibility now of saving either the wagons or the artillery. Braddock's officers retrieved a small, two-wheeled cart which, drawn by a single horse, might bring him safely out of danger. Even this was abandoned, for the general could not stand the jolting. The only alternative was a makeshift stretcher. On it Braddock's officers carried him for a distance of about twenty miles. The retreat continued to the banks of the Youghiogheny. Not until the night of July 11 did Dunbar's forces, alerted by Washington, reach Braddock's shattered army. The general, though dying, was still in command and gave the orders for a retreat to Fort Cumberland. Food supplies, ammunition, and ordinance were thrown from Dunbar's wagons and destroyed—the beaten army needed transportation for nearly four hundred sick and wounded. Dunbar's camp was abandoned. As the frenzied march continued, General Edward Braddock died on July 13, not far from the ruins of Washington's old Fort Necessity. According to tradition, Braddock was buried beneath the road-



"A Sketch of the Field of Battle, Shewing the Disposition of the Troops about 2 o'clock, when the Whole of the Main Body had Joined the Advanced and Working Partys, the Beat Back from the Ground they Occupied in Plan I." (Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe)

way in the hope that marching feet would obliterate all trace of his resting place and protect his body from Indian defilement.

Braddock's passing left Lieutenant Colonel Dunbar, who had led the wagon train, in command of the remnant of the army. The panic-stricken Dunbar hurried to Fort Cumberland, which the last stragglers would not safely reach until some days later. Here, on July 24, Dunbar sent off a dispatch describing the disaster. He had established a hospital for the wounded at the fort. As to his future plans he announced, "I propose leaving some of the Independents and provincial troops to protect them and proceed with the remains of the two Regiments to Philadelphia for Winter Quarters." This he did, leaving the Maryland frontier unprotected behind him.

But what of General Braddock's treasure chest? Money was of little use in the aftermath of an Indian massacre. Rescuing the wounded had understandably been Dunbar's first priority, and he cleared his remaining wagons of armaments and supplies to save them. The French at the Monongahela would now use the cannon and mortars left behind against the British in future campaigns. This is probably the reason why most eyewitness accounts fail to mention the lost specie, or do so only in passing. The "Return of Ordinance" filed by artillery Lieutenant Thomas Ord and Jason Furnis of the commissary logically listed only the loss, either at the Monongahela itself or destroyed by Braddock's orders during the retreat, of four

twelve-pound cannons, six six-pounders, four eight-inch brass howitzers, and fifteen Cohern mortars, as well as large quantities of powder and shot.²⁹ The "Seaman's Journal" mentioned not only the loss of military equipment but also "The General's private Chest which had about £1,000 in it."³⁰ This is only one estimate of the sum of money contained in Braddock's chest, estimates that tended to vary wildly. Several are reprinted in Paul Kopperman's *Braddock at the Monongahela*; some are still anonymous. Thus, "British B," whom Kopperman suspects was not an eyewitness, stated that "The artillery, baggage, ammunition, military chest, with all the general's plate, of which he had a complete service, many letters from the Governor's papers of Instructions, fell into the hands of the enemy." "British C" wrote that "the military chest, with £25,000 to pay the Army, and all the General's Papers, are lost."³¹ An anonymous writer whom Kopperman suspects was Captain Gabriel Christie, a member of Colonel St. Clair's staff, remarked that "The General in some of his trunks the day of action had two thousand five hundred pounds all which, with much more money and private effects, fell into the Enemy's hands." Captain Robert Orme, a member of the general's staff and, of all the officers, closest to Braddock, stated simply that the army abandoned "the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and Baggage, to the Enemy."³² Washington, also a member of Braddock's official family, emphasized that the flight left the "Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and every individual thing we had with us a prey to the Enemy."

So much for British and American journals of the tragedy. In addition, at least five French narratives of the battle have come down to the present. All of these are secondary accounts, for Captain Beaujeu, the French commander, was killed on the battlefield. The narration of one M. Roucher, who had remained behind at the fort, listed a careful inventory of captured British ordinance, ammunition, and food supplies. He also mentioned that "The greatest part of the Indians who had remained behind to scalp and plunder arrived with many horses loaded with spoil of the English consisting of furniture, Cloathes, Utensils, Gold, Silver, &c."³³ Another account, written by M. Contrecoeur, commandant of Fort Duquesne, to Governor Vaudreuil in Quebec on July 14, 1755, contains a similar inventory of the loot garnered on the battlefield, adding that "the savages pillaged a large quantity of gold and silver coins."³⁴ Did most of this cash come from the bodies of English dead, or did its quantity suggest that the Indians had found the treasure chest and made off with its contents?

The Braddock expedition had ended in disaster, but the bills remained to be paid. Documents in the Public Record Office supply many of the details. Braddock's death left William Shirley, regimental colonel and quondam royal governor of Massachusetts, the acting commander in North America until the arrival of Lord Loudoun the next year. Shirley thus became responsible for the debts of all the military campaigns of 1755. An "Accompt. Of Moneys paid by the Deputy Paymaster General pursuant to Gen. Shirley's Warrants for the Contingencies and Ex-

traordinary Services of His Majesty's Forces in North America, 1755 & 1756," provides the financial detail. Actually, the expenses of the Braddock expedition are itemized in a sub-account listing monies disbursed by Paymaster William Johnstone. We learn that on November 25 he authorized the payment of £390 for forage supplied to Sir Peter Halkett's regiment and £64.8.10 to reimburse his officers for eleven horses ordered for them by Braddock. A similar £390 was paid to Colonel Dunbar's regiment. On December 20, Major John Rutherford received £318.15 as repayment of forage money for his three independent companies. On January 8, 1756, Captain Horatio Gates got £20.11 for two horses purchased for the expedition. On that same day, the builders of the Braddock Road received compensation: £600 "paid Sir John St. Clair, Bart., Deputy Quarter Master General without Deduction on account of clearing with the Assistant Quarter Master General, Guides, Officers employed as Overseers of the Roads, Miners, Officers, and Soldiers employ'd in cutting the Roads and other Services in the Expedition under the late General Braddock."³⁵ Another item is contained in a memo written by the money contractors entitled: "Rec'd of the Paymaster General for the Use of the Forces in Virginia by Thomlinson and Hanbury." Dated May 22, 1755, it itemizes the sum of £6,050.16 "For Pay and Subsistence of Dunbar & Halkett's [regiments] to the 24th October."³⁶ This entry is extremely important, for it demonstrates conclusively that, when Braddock's forces left Fort Cumberland in June 1755, their wages were little, if any, in arrears. There appears no doubt of the general's intent: the troops, like the men employed in road-building, were not to be paid again until their arrival in winter quarters at Philadelphia at the close of the summer's campaign. We will never know how much money was carried westward in Braddock's treasure chest, but we do know that he intended to use it for incidental expenses and not for the payment of his troops.

Finally, two little-known sources strongly indicate Braddock's money chest was never lost in the first place. As Lee McCardell emphasized, Johnstone, army paymaster, stated that "the military chest and vouchers were safe at Dunbar's camp, where they had been left with the train."³⁷ Strongly corroborating Johnston's statement is a letter written by Thomas Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania then in England, to the Reverend Richard Peters, provincial secretary, on November 14, 1755, four months after the battle. Responding to Peters' earlier communication, Penn remarked that "I am well pleased to find the Military Chest did not fall into the Enemy's hands."³⁸

What, then, can be concluded about the legend of Braddock's gold, a tale so carefully tended and embellished by Mr. William Hunt for nearly a quarter of a century? Unfortunately, it does not square with the facts. General Braddock had no intention of paying his forces after the capture of Fort Duquesne, which was simply the first of several missions planned for the summer's campaign by the British high command. He had been extremely circumspect in paying his men

periodically, but then only when they had opportunities to spend their cash, as at Alexandria, and even at that hardship post, Fort Cumberland. His limited funds made it impossible for him to do more. No, his men were to wait until their arrival at winter quarters in Philadelphia, where specie could easily be brought in aboard men-o'-war from London. Even then, the troops would be paid, not in British or colonial currency, but in Spanish pieces-of-eight. Colorful though it may be, the Braddock's gold legend, with all of its variations, must be dismissed because existing evidence does not substantiate it. The historian must also discard such accounts as the "Seaman's Journal," "British B," and "British C." Some of the narrators, though eyewitnesses, were not in the forefront of the battle. Captain Robert Orme, who was, did not mention the loss of the military chest in his official report, neither did Colonel George Washington in his deposition.

We are left with the narratives of army paymaster Johnstone and the Reverend Richard Peters. The former, making an official report to his superiors and quite likely the custodian of the chest, wrote that it was safe in British hands. We do not know the source of the astute Reverend Peters's information, but as secretary of the province relating the event to his patron, he would have striven for accuracy. Thomas Penn, in response, voiced his relief that the chest and its contents had been protected from the enemy. We must therefore conclude, until more compelling evidence appears, that Braddock's treasure chest was never in danger at the battle of the Monongahela. The general left it in Colonel Dunbar's baggage train where, remaining some forty miles behind his advance forces, it did not fall under attack. Evidently Dunbar's troops carried it back to Fort Cumberland before their transfer to Philadelphia. As for the legend, it too has its place, for the folklore of the people, what they actually want to believe, will endure.

NOTES

1. J. William Hunt, "Across the Desk," *Cumberland Evening Times*, December 27, 1964.
2. Hunt, *Cumberland Evening Times*, July 12, 1953, January 13, 1957, May 11, 1958, July 15, 1962.
3. Ibid., January 2, 1966, August 18, 1963, September 17, 1967, May 11, June 9, June 22, 1958, August 18, 1963.
4. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (1882, repr. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1968), 89, 91.
5. James W. Thomas and T. J. Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland* (1923, repr. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1969), 81-83.
6. Hunt, *Cumberland Evening Times*, May 4, 1959, January 24, 1960.
7. "Sketch for the Operations in North America, Nov. 16, 1754," in Stanley Pargellis, ed., *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1936), 45-48.
8. Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, "Private Instructions for Major Gen. Braddock," 53, "A Proportion of Brass Ordinance Howitzers and Stores for the Intended Expedition to North America,

By Order of the Board dated that 12th Oct. 1754," Appendix II, 479–82, "Instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty to Admiral Keppel," 50.

9. Lee McCardell, *Ill-Starred General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), 137–38, 140.

10. Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America*, 47–48, 53.

11. Braddock to Napier, March 17, 1755, and Braddock to the Duke of Newcastle, March 20, 1755, in Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 78, 81.

12. McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 141–42, 152, 156.

13. Will Loudermilk, "General Braddock's Orderly Book," Appendix, *History of Cumberland, Maryland* (1878, repr. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1971), xii

14. McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 167–68.

15. The Thomlinson and Hanbury correspondence, as well as that of their American agents, is preserved in the Treasury files of the Public Record Office in London. It reveals important details about the British financing of the French and Indian War in general, and of the Braddock campaign in particular.

16. T1/367 xc/A.60071, Treasury Files, Public Record Office.

17. McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 165–66.

18. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 217, 221.

19. Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 85. Few of the horses and none of the wagons survived the defeat at the Monongahela. Their owners were the next year compensated by the British Treasury to the sum of £20,000.

20. Labaree, *Benjamin Franklin*, 223–24.

21. McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 197.

22. Labaree, *Benjamin Franklin*, 222.

23. McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 189–94, 200, 189.

24. Edward Braddock to John Hunter, May 10, 1755, T1/361 62653, Treasury Files, Public Record Office.

25. James Balfour to Thomlinson and Hansbury, May 19, 1755, T1/361 62653, Treasury Files, Public Record Office.

26. Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland*, 42.

27. McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 217, 224–25, 247.

28. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 99, 254. In this latest estimate of Indians participating in the battle, Anderson counts some Mingos and Delawares, more Shawnees, and groups of Ottawa, Mississaugas, Wyandots, and Po-tawatomis.

29. Dunbar to Napier, July 24, 1755, Return of Ordinance by Thomas Ord and James Furniss, Little Bear Camp, July 18, 1755, in Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 111, 96–97.

30. "A Seaman's Journal," in Arthur B. Hulbert, *Braddock's Road and Related Papers* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur E. Clark Company, 1903), 107.

31. Paul Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), 171, 174.

32. Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 123–24, 99.

33. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, 232, 270.

34. Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 131.

35. "An Accompt. Of Money paid by Mr. William Johnstone, Deputy Paymaster of His Majesty's Forces pursuant to General Shirley's Warrants for the Contingent and Extraordi-

nary Services of His Majesty's Forces in North America," T1/361 xo/A/59956, Public Record Office.

36. "Rec'd of the Paymaster General for the Use of the Forces in Virginia by Thomlinson and Hanbury," T1/360 xc/A/60173, Public Record Office.

37. McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 262.

38. Thomas Penn to the Reverend Richard Peters, November 14, 1755, in John D. Kilbourne, ed., *The Thomas Penn Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* [microfilm] (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1968), 4:185. In spite of his many interests, Peters traveled extensively in western Pennsylvania as missionary to Indian tribes.

Book Reviews

From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers. By Allan Kulikoff. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000. 508 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth; \$22.50 paper.)

From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers can best be read as a prequel to *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992). In *Agrarian Origins*, Kulikoff set out to explain the capitalist transformation of rural America, or the making of "independent smallholding farmers and artisans and dependent women and slaves" into capitalists and wage laborers between the American Revolution and the Civil War. Now Kulikoff offers scholars a sweeping study of the creation of the American yeomanry, or the transformation of British peasants into small American farmers during the colonial period. The book's main themes—cycles of conquest, colonization, improvement, and migration—were set up in the conclusion of *Agrarian Origins*. Working backwards, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* argues against the myth of the yeoman by showing that farmers frequently achieved their goal of the independent family farm in colonial America. The creation of the small American farmer is the quintessential part of Kulikoff's rural American saga. It is a triumphant story of the men and women who risked the trials of migration and suffered the hardships of settlement in a distant place to forge a society of independent landowners in a new world.

Based largely on secondary literature, Kulikoff's portrayal of the settlement of early America offers few surprises. The first three chapters paint the familiar picture English enclosure, colonization schemes, ill-prepared settlers, Indian wars and removal, and the eventual transformation of the land through farm-building. The final chapters take a closer look at the farm household, particularly at the relationships between men and women, between farm households and the market, and briefly between farmers and the American Revolution. These two parts are divided by a chapter that considers European migration from a broader perspective. In particular, Kulikoff shows that more Europeans migrated eastward than westward during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kulikoff has adeptly synthesized an impressive body of scholarship on North America, Britain, and Europe ranging from community studies to demographic and economic analyses to cultural works, all of which he has carefully cited for the reader.

Much of this book hangs on land and the ability of small farmers to get their hands on it. Early America was overwhelmingly agricultural and populated predominantly by small landowners. The desire for land had first brought European

immigrants to American shores in the late sixteenth century and then pushed colonists westward over the Appalachian Mountains by the end of the eighteenth. "Land meant everything," Kulikoff argues, "It was the bedrock of their prosperity" and the source of their identity (74). More importantly, the availability of land provided small farmers with their best defense against capitalism. Small farmers rejected capitalism by routinely migrating westward, using their feet as their weapons against the commercial farmers, speculators, and merchants, who threatened their household independence and ways of life.

This argument is not new for Kulikoff, nor are my criticisms of it. The driving force behind Kulikoff's work, including both *Agrarian Origins* and *From British Peasants to American Farmers*, is the advocacy of an anticapitalist, or at least, a noncapitalist American past. According to Kulikoff, when English capitalism mixed with the North American environment, the product was a fiercely independent, anticapitalistic American farmer. Yeoman farmers stalled the development of capitalism in America by seizing available land and becoming independent, small landowners, first along the eastern seaboard and later in the west. This model does not work either for understanding the transition to capitalism in America or as an explanation of the settlement of colonial America. There was greater continuity between British and British North American economic tradition—commercial attitudes, interests, and activities—than Kulikoff allows. While anticapitalist elements and advocates did exist in early America, the majority of migrants sought land as a means to participate in the emerging capitalist economy in the early modern Atlantic World. Kulikoff mentions agribusiness in the twentieth century and his feelings of nostalgia for the world of the small American farm we have lost. He reads a similar sense of nostalgia back onto colonial American farmers, but I wonder how accurately.

Allan Kulikoff has once again demonstrated his gift for synthesis. *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* will join the ranks of other masterful narratives of the colonial period, which include *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985), *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1988), and *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989). For this reason it can be recommended to historians of early America, and will become a staple in graduate student reading. More general readers, however, will also find the book engaging and informative, and those interested in the history of the Chesapeake will find that much of the evidence is drawn from the region. Kulikoff promises to continue his agrarian saga with a cultural companion to *From British Peasants to American Farmers* that more explicitly addresses issues of farmer identity and the creation of a yeoman class during the early republican period.

BROOKE HUNTER
University of Delaware

A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens by Lawrence E. Babits (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. 160 pages. Notes, index. \$16.95.)

Historians must constantly reexamine primary sources to insure that we get beyond the confusion of battle and around the heroic lore surrounding the American Revolution. In *A Devil of A Whipping*, Lawrence E. Babits sets out with new historical techniques to examine records not previously studied and to re-evaluate the well-known sources in an effort to better understand one battle. Cowpens, South Carolina, fought January 17, 1781, was a conflict of strategic importance far outweighing its small scale. Babits contends that the role of the Continentals, including many Marylanders and the famous John Eager Howard, has been over-emphasized. The author stresses the importance of the militia and state troops. He also attempts to recalculate Morgan's numbers, almost doubling the usual estimates of the size of the army.

Babits's contributions to our understanding of events on that day come from his detailed analysis of American formations and movements. He explains just how and where the front lines fell back without compromising the rest of Morgan's three-deep echeloned formation. He convincingly demonstrates that many of these retreating units fought again at later stages of the battle. Babits's topography indicates that the usual criticism of Morgan's choice to fight—that his flanks were in the air and that he had no line of retreat with a river to his back—are unjustified. Wetlands and creek beds guarded Morgan's position and forced British commander Banastre Tarleton to approach on a constricted front, while the river was a great distance to Morgan's rear.

Babits's mastery of detail both serves and betrays him. He calculates rates of march and measures time, showing exactly how far the Continental Line withdrew before launching a counter-attack. But of what significance, other than to park interpreters, is the exact length of a short retreat since the actual distance and time are not critical to the battle's outcome? Babits's descriptions of the terrain are very detailed, but contradictory and inconclusive, especially about slopes and trees. His maps show contour lines, but without defined elevations. He refers extensively, and wisely, to historical maps, but none are reproduced in this volume for the reader. Although we read of so many particular wounds and casualties, he does not relate losses to critical battlefield incidents and outcomes. To understand Revolutionary warfare, we must come to grips with the psychological as well as the physical effect of musketry and rifle fire. Cowpens presents an opportunity for a detailed case study, but Babits does not provide one.

Babits valiantly mined pension files for details of the struggle at Cowpens. These numerous but sparse accounts gave him many insights as to the time and place of events. His analysis of the number of pension files from soldiers at Cowpens led him to believe that Morgan may have had twice as many troops as are usually

attributed to the American army. Unfortunately, he does not adequately justify his extrapolations from number of pensioners to the number of soldiers present. Even if one accepts his numbers, he fails to consider the military significance of these totals. If Morgan outnumbered Tarleton as severely as Babits claims, then the American victory can be attributed to something other than just skillful deployment and American firepower.

Babits draws several seemingly reasonable conclusions, but documentation is often lacking. A point-by-point refutation is not merited here, but one might take issue with his attribution of logistical and tactical traps supposedly set by Morgan. The author also ascribes to Morgan a Wellington-like “reverse slope” defense plan, but an intention for such deployment is uncertain. Babits reinterprets one of the mysteries of the battle: why the elite 71st Highland Regiment routed when the Americans counter-attacked. He insightfully notes that lack of food and excessive fatigue should be added to effects of the Americans’ point-blank volley as the cause of their psychological failure. He seems, however, to elevate these almost universal conditions of the southern campaigns (applicable to both sides) above the sudden combined attack of the Continental infantry and of cavalry from the flank. The observations made here are not merely conflicts of interpretations, but calls for more demonstrable conclusions from the rich details Babits provides.

Babits’s volume is invaluable as an account of incidents and actions at Cowpens. It also contains a comprehensive, if somewhat dry, explanation of Revolutionary warfare. He provides a wonderful bibliography of original and secondary sources, although he writes mostly from the American point of view. Perhaps readers should study Babits’s many facts but draw their own conclusions.

R. J. ROCKEFELLER
Maryland State Archives

Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation. By Joseph J. Ellis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. 299 pages. Notes, index. \$26.)

Fans of Joseph J. Ellis’s National Book Award–winning look at the life of Thomas Jefferson, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), will not be disappointed with his latest contribution to early American political history. In *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation*, Ellis employs the recently maligned traditional methods of historical inquiry, biography, and narrative in a review of six critical episodes when the leaders of America’s revolutionary generation—John Adams, Aaron Burr, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington—collectively altered the course of American history.

At the outset, Ellis makes no apologies for writing a book with “mostly male, all-white” political figures (13) as his focus, insisting that these individuals played

a decisive role, and bore a disproportionate burden, during the most consequential period in American history. Then he turns to the six self-contained narratives where he looks at the infamous duel between Burr and Hamilton, the one exception to the otherwise non-violent face-to-face encounters between the brothers; describes the dinner where Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison agreed upon a permanent location for the national capital; examines Franklin's last public act, the signing of an anti-slavery petition introduced in the United States Congress; reviews the inspiration behind Washington's Farewell Address, or as Ellis more accurately labels it, Farewell Letter; details a series of collaborations that developed among the brothers during Adams's ill-fated presidential administration; and lastly, offers an appraisal of the significance of the written correspondence that Adams and Jefferson resumed during their latter years after nearly a decade of enmity and silence.

Washington emerges from these pages as the most indispensable revolutionary figure. Soldiers rallied around him during the revolution, and he expected nothing less from the American people after accepting the presidency. Once in office, for the good of the republic, he effectively cast himself in the role of a "republican king who embodied national authority more potently and more visibly than any collective body like Congress could possibly convey" (127). The people trusted him (most of the brothers had never fired a shot in anger during the Revolution) and when he was ready to step down he did so on his own terms, voluntarily, an eighteenth-century event as revolutionary as any other. Jefferson also acted in America's behalf but often disingenuously and at the expense of his own character. He founded and spread rumors about Washington, paid a scandalmonger to discredit Adams, and then denied his complicity in both schemes. He was, according to Ellis, "the kind of man who could have passed a lie-detector test confirming his integrity" (144-45), a man with "nearly Herculean powers of self-denial" (197).

Ellis draws from the standard published works of these prominent men, yet in his hands the brothers come alive. There is Madison, for example, who "had the frail and discernibly fragile appearance of a career librarian or schoolmaster" (53), Adams, "ever the political pugilist who felt obliged to answer every bell" (168), and again Jefferson, "the always cool and self-contained enigma, who regarded debate and argument as violations of the natural harmonies he heard in his own head" (163). But it is with the collective achievements of these men that Ellis is most concerned. Together, the brothers succeeded where leaders of subsequent, comparable social and political convulsions in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America failed. In the same fashion that they kept their own political and philosophical differences from destroying their personal relationships, the brothers kept disparate groups of people from turning on one another immediately after these groups overthrew an oppressive regime. To accomplish this they had to come to terms

with what Ellis refers to as the “central paradox of the revolutionary era” (8): the rejection of a strong, central authority on one hand, and the establishment of a new republican one, energetic enough to hold the new nation together, on the other.

The founding brothers were idealistic but flawed men who understood that history was watching them, and according to Ellis, “knowing we would be watching helped to keep them on their best behavior” (18). Nevertheless, a concluding chapter with an interpretive overview might have helped explain why sibling rivalry more often characterized these fraternal relationships than brotherly love, but Ellis should be forgiven. His gift for story telling and his command of the written word would please even the fastidious subjects of his book, and he has in the end produced an intriguing collection of stories that both the scholar and general reader will enjoy.

MATT CLAVIN
American University

The Papers of Robert Morris Volume 9: January 1–October 30, 1784. Edited by Elizabeth M. Nuxoll and Mary Gallagher. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999. Pp. lxii, 1026. Index. \$90.00.)

Known as the “Financier of the Revolution” Robert Morris was born in England in 1734 and emigrated to America with his father at the age of thirteen. Finding work in a Philadelphia counting house, the younger Morris eventually rose to become a partner in the firm and on the eve of the Revolution was one of the most successful merchants in colonial America. When war broke out in 1775 Morris committed himself to the cause of American freedom and served as both a delegate to the Continental Congress and as the first President of the Pennsylvania Assembly. On February 20, 1781, Morris received an appointment as the Superintendent of Finance and Agent of the Marine. Although his nomination had not been greeted with universal approval, Morris set about putting the American financial house in order. Morris served his country in this capacity until 1784.

This editorial project began in 1968 with the intention of publishing the official diary and correspondence of Robert Morris during his tenure as Superintendent of Finance and Agent of Marine from 1781 to 1784. This is the ninth and final volume in the series and contains more than six hundred pages of diary entries and a variety of letters to and from Morris. As might be expected, the vast majority of the correspondence pertains to fiscal matters and specifically the financial solvency of the United States.

The documents in this collection show Morris to be a tireless advocate for the fiscal stability of the new American nation. For Morris, America was a land of tremendous potential. Writing to a Dutch banking consortium in February 1784,

Morris stated that "if it were possible to convey an adequate Idea of the Wealth, Extent and Power of this Country it would do a great Deal towards exciting the favorable Attention of Mankind." For Morris, however, America could never capitalize on such potential until the government could obtain an adequate and regular source of revenue to finance its public debt. Throughout, Morris finds himself confronted by a plethora of claimants both large and small all making some claim on the tenuous finances of the United States. Given these circumstances it is no surprise that Morris found the Articles of Confederation to be seriously flawed and would later support both the Constitution of 1787 and the agenda of the Federalist Party.

With the press of business quite strong it is not surprising that his diary entries are very spare and do not offer much of the way of insights into this interesting man. The general tone of his correspondence does, however, suggest that he was confident and possessed a mastery of financial matters. With such skills he successfully staved off the financial collapse of the United States. In this volume we join him at the end of his tenure, and it is readily apparent that he has grown anxious to return to private life. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson in February 1784, he challenged the idea that he had been overpaid for the services he had rendered his country and pointed out that "Neither the Powers nor the Emoluments of the Office have sufficient Charms to keep me in it one Hour after I can quit it with Consistence."

This volume also includes four lengthy yet interesting appendices. Appendix I gathers selected documents related to Morris's resignation and its aftermath. Appendix II contains documents related to the state of the American banking system in 1784. These focus on controversies surrounding the Bank of North America and plans for the ultimately unsuccessful Bank of Pennsylvania. Appendix III contains a photostatic reproduction of Morris's *A Statement of the Accounts of the United States of America, During the Administration of the Superintendent of Finance* (originally printed in Philadelphia in 1785) and Joseph Nourse's *Statements of the Receipts and Expenditures of Public Monies, During the Administration of the Finances By Robert Morris* (originally printed in Philadelphia in 1791). Appendix IV lists the various documents that were not published in this volume but which appear as transcripts in a microfilm supplement.

Although this volume is expensive to own, it is substantial in size and contains much useful information regarding the fiscal state of America during the Confederation period. Scholars interested in the perceived inadequacies of the Articles of Confederation will find this especially helpful in understanding the transition to a new system of government in 1787. For scholars and casual readers of Maryland history this volume will be of limited interest. Scattered throughout are pieces of correspondence that discuss the efforts of Morris to market Chesapeake tobacco to Europe. While these are useful they do not provide much insight into the state

of the Chesapeake economy during the Confederation Period nor the relationship between the Chesapeake and the wider Atlantic world. For a better understanding of these issues the interested reader will need to look elsewhere.

MARK A. TACYN

Maryland State Archives

"If You Love That Lady Don't Marry Her": The Courtship Letters of Sally McDowell and John Miller, 1854–1856. Edited by Thomas E. Buckley, S.J. (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 2000. 910 pages. Introduction, illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95.)

In August 1854 John Miller, a prominent Presbyterian minister of a thriving Philadelphia church, proposed marriage to Sally McDowell, a daughter of the former governor of Virginia and member of one of the state's elite families. Although deeply in love, they were forced to postpone their marriage for more than two years due to the overwhelming obstacle of Sally's marital status: her brief marriage to Francis Thomas, the former governor of Maryland, had ended in divorce. An unusual occurrence in antebellum America, the Virginia legislature granted the divorce on the basis of Thomas's cruelty and defamation of Sally's character. Although Sally was legally free to remarry, prevailing attitudes toward divorce meant that the couple faced considerable opposition from their families, friends, and ministers, who feared that marriage would damage McDowell's social status and destroy Miller's ministry.

This book presents hundreds of letters that John Miller and Sally McDowell exchanged during their prolonged engagement, revealing their growing affection for one another, relationships with their families, and attitudes toward religion, politics, slavery, and gender. The usefulness of the book is greatly enhanced by editor Thomas Buckley's gracefully written introduction, which despite its brevity is comprehensively researched, presents the interesting story of John and Sally, places their lives in historical and social context, and satisfies the reader's curiosity about their fate. Buckley also provides a useful list of individuals referred to in the letters with brief descriptions of their relationship to the protagonists and an index of names and topics. The photographs and illustrations in this beautifully designed volume help bring the world of the letters to life. Notes throughout the text provide background information when necessary, but Buckley's editing is never intrusive. Instead, he prefers to let the letters speak for themselves.

Besides presenting a compelling, at times fascinating, story of the growing affection between John and Sally, these engaging and sometimes poignant letters are a valuable source for students of antebellum social, cultural, and religious history. The letters reveal much about family relationships and attitudes toward divorce and gender relations in elite antebellum society. Because the Presbyterian

Synod would not allow remarriage (except in cases of adultery, which was not the grounds for Sally's divorce), John and Sally were concerned with "the moral question" of their marriage, as well as more practical concerns such as the opposition of John's ministerial colleagues, the opposition from members of both families, and their potential loss of social position from violating social customs and religious sanctions about remarriage after divorce.

The letters also provide useful insights about the sometimes troubled relationships between antebellum ministers and their congregations. John faced difficulties from congregants and trustees who disliked his sermons, claiming he "preached over the heads of the people" (357). As Buckley notes, the trustees declared that the proposed marriage would "injure and interfere with our Success as a Church and Our Pastors influence among us" (431). Torn between the constraints of ministerial duty and his desire to pursue theological and philosophical studies, and plagued by difficult relations with his congregation, financial disputes with trustees, and opposition to his proposed marriage, John eventually resigned as minister of Philadelphia's West Arch Street Church.

Since John was a director of the American Colonization Society and Sally a slaveholder, slavery was a significant issue in their courtship. Sally's letters provide insight concerning the ideas of southern slaveowners, demonstrating that she adhered to the ideology of paternalism. Throughout her long correspondence, Sally expresses concern for her slaves, regarding one as "a kind and faithful friend" and characterizing slavery as "a terrible calamity and a dreadful evil" (182, 539). When she witnesses the sale of human beings for the first time in her life, she is appalled. Her letters also document her frustration with slaves whom she considers "almost valueless" (663) yet asking for additional privileges, as well as the ongoing problems of plantation management, including a dishonest overseer. Still, believing that slaves would encounter even worse circumstances if free, and that slavery would last forever, Sally feels that as a matter of principle, slaves should remain in bondage, and that the south "would have managed better if there had been no northern interference" (816). For his part, John asserts that if his congregants knew, they "would have no feeling about the slaves" (408), revealing that in an era of heightening sectional conflict, at least one northern congregation was probably more preoccupied with the evils of divorce than of slavery. The letters are also an interesting source for antebellum literary and political interests among educated elites and frequently refer to current events, such as the Crimean War and the caning of Senator Charles Sumner, whom both evidently disliked. John castigates his "bombastic and scrappy speeches," while Sally describes her "animosity" toward South Carolina (591, 637).

Perhaps the letters are most valuable for the way they portray gender relations, documenting the tension, even in a such a close and devoted relationship, between traditional beliefs in gendered domesticity and the ideal of companion-

ate marriage. John clearly admires Sally's character, respects her advice, accepts her desire for a property settlement before marriage, and treats her as an intellectual equal. Still, he adheres to the ideology of separate spheres, describing Sally as "most engagingly and helplessly a woman," and criticizing a benevolent northern relative who "loves her soup-societies . . . better than she does her children" (703, 62). A divorced woman accustomed to financial and social independence and carrying considerable responsibilities, including the guardianship of her young sister and managing her plantation, Sally nevertheless expresses concern that writing about such matters may seem "unladylike." Moreover, when she receives an offer to write a biography of her prominent father, she is pained by the thought that such an endeavor would place her "without the pale of decent society" and on another occasion remarks that "philosophy is no more meant for a woman, than hat and boots" (321, 494). Most significantly, she fears that wifely submission may prove challenging, writing to John that "it will take me some time to learn that the sovereign power has passed to your hand and that I am to be *at last* only a subject" (270, emphasis in original). John and Sally follow traditional gender roles in theory while negotiating them in practice during their courtship. The letters thus provide a vivid portrait of two intelligent, sensitive individuals who faced great obstacles in finding a place for themselves, and their relationship, in antebellum society. Yet, as Buckley describes in the introduction, the couple surmounted their personal and social difficulties, finally enjoying a long and happy marriage through the Civil War and beyond.

This volume contributes to the ongoing analysis of antebellum and Civil War diaries and correspondence. The personalities of John and Sally shine through their beautifully written letters, while their insights and occasional humor make the letters a pleasure to read. Because of the nature of the letters, in many ways they are even more revealing than diaries, which are more the result of solitary reflection than interaction with others. A valuable source for antebellum social, cultural, religious, family, and women's history, this book will appeal to readers interested in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania history, and is useful for researchers and teachers alike.

SANDRA PRYOR

University of Delaware

Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory. By David Blight. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. 512 pages. Notes, index, \$29.95.)

The bloodiest war in United States history was reconciled in less than ten years. Is this true? Or is that just how we remember it? The answer lies in David Blight's significant new book, an examination of more than sixty years of rituals, images, and letters of the Civil War and how it transformed American memory.

Take the invention of Memorial Day: at first southerners grieved in the wake of Confederate defeat, and yet as early as 1874 they joined with northerners to observe the national holiday, healing sectional rivalry. Blight's deeply researched study examines the evolution of the war's memory in different institutions and eras, from military ceremony to political rhetoric to civic association, but the overriding theme is the South fighting the lost cause of denying or reinterpreting Union victory.

After examining the horrors of wartime, Blight recounts the familiar story of Reconstruction, but he does not forthrightly indicate to what extent cultural memory contributed to the ascendance of southern Democracy. Traditional political historians have often noted the role of the "bloody shirt" in causing backlash but Blight's great breadth and sensitivity leads him to incorporate the black emancipationist vision of the war, as Frederick Douglass fiercely contested southern conservatives. Oddly, however, the construction of white northern memory or its differing manifestations unfortunately recedes from Blight's narrative at crucial analytical moments. For example, what was the Liberal Republican political memory of the War? One wants explanation of Blight's argument that the Republican Party had become by 1875–76 the party of memory." (131).

At the same time, a cottage industry of soldier's memoirs and magazine fiction captured the public imagination in the 1870s. The racism they exhibited proved the difference between fighting slavery and harboring prejudice, and yet the military experience offered opportunity for black soldiers to prove their loyalty and fitness for citizenship; and postbellum black writers and veterans organizations seized various forums in which to guard the war's meanings. (Here Blight quotes liberally from Nick Salvatore's wonderful narrative of Amos Webber.) But over the decades both black and white soldiers' fiction imagined more and mattered less, as veterans faded in the 1890s. Though Blight discusses the last gasp of military drama in the "anti-modern scorn" for, and New Manhood rejection of, modernization, I was more impressed by his discussion of turn-of-the-century southern associational memory, when the losers crafted "the full-blown myth of the Lost Cause—a glorious, organic civilization destroyed by avaricious, 'industrial society' determined to wipe out its cultural foes" (257). In this case southern womanhood was pivotal.

Lost Cause ideologues included radicals such as Thomas Nelson Page, who according to Blight, "reunified [the] nation on Southern terms, white supremacy as the means of redemption" (227). It is a great virtue of David Blight that he does not resort to quietude or moderate terms in the face of such racism; palpable is his outrage at the tenacity of the Lost Cause in southern memory—a version of the interregnum in which slavery victimized whites, Reconstruction was illegal, white supremacy a natural order.

Blight's narrative synthesizes responses to resurgent racism by African Americans from W. E. B. Du Bois to Booker T. Washington. One might quibble with this

or that interpretation, but Blight's instinct is brilliant, for by leading the study of memory to the subordinate and relatively powerless such as the black masses in the 1890s, he balances the cultural scope; not only the winners articulated memory. Yet a firmer analysis would show that African Americans did not participate as much in memory production of the war as struggle to enforce *realpolitik* of Reconstruction (though the memory that the Union won the Civil War was a necessary precondition to accurately preserving Reconstruction).

In the following chapters on the New South, Blight covers literary and sociopolitical construction of the Lost Cause. Where traditional historiography of the 1890s recounted disenfranchisement, the defeat of fusionism, or extreme negrophobia, Blight examines civic rituals and regional pride. At this time southern memory and an expanding civil sphere were powerful mirrors of each other, reflecting amateur, voluntary, associational images of the nation's most tragic events. White ladies' clubs sponsored the General Lee monument movement, Uncle Remus popularized the romance of enslavement, and though black intellectuals dissented, southern historical revisionism accompanied the rise of Jim Crow segregation. In my opinion there was room in Blight's analysis for a theory of bourgeois capitalist or quasi-capitalist power relations that illuminated the fabrication and operation of ideology, because in this instance memory was so profoundly hegemonic, that is, implemented American apartheid.

In the final chapters, Blight tracks the Lost Cause's appeal across the nation, as states' rights defeated equal protection. Yet northern cities allocated small funds to black associations with which to build monuments and host emancipation conventions dedicated to reenacting the coming of freedom. By the 1910s, Du Bois sponsored such pageants that "played to 14,000 spectators; some thirty thousand in all." But does Blight misinterpret the African American experience? On some level it is true that Du Bois's pageants had planted a "stark reminder that another kind of mending had eluded America." (377) But to what extent was Du Bois's *Star of Ethiopia* signaling backward movement, for its production signified withdrawal from constant demands for federal protection of civil rights to memory and inward-directed nostalgia for the days of Union victory and rescue?

Studying the defeat of southern slavery as well as the defeat of Reconstruction, arguably the greatest democratic experiment of the nineteenth century, raises more questions about the processes of historical memory and the morality of memory and the responsibilities of historiography than Blight could possibly answer in one book. So significant is his research and so clear and open is his analysis that all students of American history as well as historiography, not to mention various disciplines concerned with culture, will need to summon the patience to grapple with the implications of *Race and Reunion*.

KEVIN MUMFORD
Towson University

The Dark Valley: A Panorama of the 1930s. By Peirs Brendon. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. 813 pages. Notes, index. \$35.)

Piers Brendon, Keeper of the Churchill Archives and Fellow of Churchill College, has written a magisterial history of Great Power domestic politics and international conflict during the 1930s. The book offers a chronological account divided into chapters devoted to the United States, Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, and Japan, with two chapters related to the role played by many of these powers in the Spanish Civil War. The author's primary thesis is straightforward—that the Depression represented the most important cause of the Second World War. Economic crisis (on page 690, Brendon calls it “the worst peacetime crisis to afflict humanity since the Black Death”) facilitated the rise of fascism and militarism in Germany, Japan, and Italy, sapped the morale and material strength of the United States, France, and Great Britain, and legitimized the radical alternative offered by the Soviet Union. Throughout this lengthy volume he makes these points clearly and unequivocally. For example: “Britain’s tragedy was that it had been so weakened and so demoralized by the Depression that most of its leaders could see no alternative to appeasement [of Hitler]” (425).

Thomas Carlyle’s statement that “history is the essence of innumerable biographies” forms the touchstone of this volume (xvii). Brendon has written a traditional history that weaves together secondary sources and memoirs to describe both great events, such as the Depression, and “great men” during this tumultuous period. Although beginning with an economic collapse and ending with military conflict, this account focuses on the personalities and prejudices of national leaders, and the diplomatic interaction between them. The author treads on familiar ground when he contrasts the active and aggressive Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Japanese leaders with presidents and prime ministers in Western democracies who seemed able only to react to economic crises and international instability.

Illusion and delusion represent recurring themes in Brendon’s account. He emphasizes the expected—the efforts of Germany’s Joseph Goebbels and Italy’s Italo Balbo to turn their masters’ rantings into mass obedience, and to transform feelings of national victimhood into totalitarianism at home and aggression abroad. But the Western democracies were not immune from the need to create illusions. For example, Brendon details the British royal family’s attempt to use their own public relations machine to rebuild prestige after the abdication of King Edward VIII. Here, this traditional history addresses important historiographical issues of collective memory and what Eric Hobsbawm termed “the invention of tradition.”

In the realm of delusion, *The Dark Valley* devotes a great deal of attention to the American, British, and French politicians and diplomats who ignored the beginnings of the Holocaust or the brutality of Stalin’s rule. The author possesses

an eye for anecdotes that make for lively reading. For example, American Ambassador to the Soviet Union Joseph Davies's memoir, *Mission to Moscow*, downplayed the violence of collectivization and purges. American diplomats with a fuller understanding of life in the Soviet Union mocked Davies's book as *Submission to Moscow* (498). In his account of the Spanish Civil War, "the hinge between global slump and global war" (409), Brendon clearly admires the disillusioned, such as George Orwell, who came to see the reality behind Soviet communism.

Brendon skillfully combines historiography with his narrative, usually by addressing the results of documents newly uncovered by scholars or new approaches to existing materials. For example, he notes that the postwar hagiography of Winston Churchill has given way to a more nuanced portrait of a man who was "a wild, egotistical, and often malign force, more of a danger to his friends than to enemies." When discussing the familiar story of Churchill's prescient warnings about the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, Brendon acknowledges that the future prime minister was also "inconsistent and opportunistic towards the dictators during the 1930s" (608).

The value of Brendon's work is not so much in the realm of revelations, but rather in his skillful narrative and ability to distill complex issues into an overview that a reasonably well-informed layman could enjoy. Those interested in this period and Brendon's approach to history might also wish to read Alan Bullock's *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* or Herbert Bix's recent book on Japan's Emperor, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*. Carlyle wrote "A well-written life is almost as rare as a well-spent one." In *The Dark Valley* we find a series of well-written lives woven into a fascinating narrative of the 1930s.

STEVEN PHILLIPS
Towson University

The Communist Party in Maryland, 1919–57. By Vernon L. Pedersen. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001. 254 page. Notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This monograph takes the story from 1919, when the first "Bolsheviks" made their appearance in Maryland, through 1957, when little was left of the party because of the lack of public support, domestic political repression, and the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. Vernon Pedersen's research is extensive; his sources include archival material, newspapers, memoirs, interviews with Maryland party members, and a recently discovered trove of documents in Siberia containing files on the activity of the Communist Party in the United States that a research associate in Moscow translated for him.

Pedersen explains that he sought to provide a picture sympathetic to the misplaced idealism of the members of the party. At the same time he stresses that the party was "a genuine threat" (3) to society. He dismisses the view that it was either

not engaged in spying or that spying did not matter and offers no evidence that anyone in the party in Maryland was engaged in espionage. He even acknowledges that, with the "possible exception" of party secretary Albert Blumberg (11, 164), there is no evidence that Marylanders spied for the Soviet Union. But the Soviet sources are of no help on Blumberg or anyone else. Why then throw in the name of the "prominent Baltimorean Alger Hiss" (164) when his accuser, Whittaker Chambers, called him a "Washington Communist?" What the sources do tell us—that the party was woefully weak and subject to internal splits and external harassment—is not new.

Pedersen is very good when placing party activity within the context of Maryland politics, such the 1931 murder trial of black defendant Ewell Lee on the Eastern Shore, its noisy challenge of the Ober Law, its attempts to recruit workers, etc. But when he extends the scope to the national level, problems begin. He accepts the view that J. Edgar Hoover, Frank Ober, Martin Dies, and Joseph McCarthy all had good reasons for their subversion of the Constitution. One looks in vain for a clarification, for example, that McCarthy did not believe in his own reckless accusations. Pedersen repeats the slander that Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry Wallace was mouthing the Kremlin's propaganda line (163ff.) and that there was little difference between the party and the Ku Klux Klan (155).

When Pedersen discusses international politics, he is on even shakier ground. The book is of no help in providing an understanding of the activities of the Comintern. He accepts the interpretation that the Soviet leadership worked feverishly to bring about a world-wide revolution. Perhaps, but there is more to the story. The Comintern came into existence to bind foreign parties to the defense of the socialist motherland. Its famous twenty-one conditions for admission, which Pederson confuses with the "constitution" (24) that came later, and Stalin's repeated exhortations make that clear. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 did not issue a clarion call for revolution but was consistent with Stalin's repeated demands that foreign parties defend the Soviet state. Pedersen claims to have consulted the Comintern files in Moscow, but the book has nothing on the Comintern debates between 1919 and 1927, Leon Trotsky's "permanent revolution," Stalin's "socialism in one country," or his views on the Comintern and revolutions, whether in China, Spain, or the United States. He misidentifies the president of the Comintern in 1920 (26); that was Zinoviev, not Bukharin, who came later.

What is remarkable is how few individuals the party attracted. From its earliest days, the competing socialist parties had but a handful of members who were constantly delinquent in paying their dues. Yet Pederson sees a great danger they posed. The activist Julius Ohsis, for example, under constant watch by one of J. Edgar Hoover's agents, somehow "fit the profile of a dangerous revolutionary" (23). In 1931, at the height of the Great Depression, with the collapse of capitalism

all around them, the Maryland Communists were reduced to singing the “Internationale” outside the White House. During the presidential election of 1932, the Maryland party attracted 1,031 votes out of more than 400,000 cast. It did not even have a base among Baltimore’s black population. In 1935 its membership was no more than five dozen (9, 83). Still, “squads of Communists” somehow managed that year to infiltrate National Guard units at Ft. Meade, Ft. Holabird, and the Aberdeen Proving Grounds, a bit of information based on 1954 testimony before the U.S. Congress (86).

What the book does tell us is that the party did not accomplish much of anything. Its members were outspoken and frequently made the headlines but had little political or social influence. They denounced the notorious Ober Law (which undermined the Constitution and stifled dissent in Maryland), the Dies Committee (which did so on the national scale), and the McCarthy witch hunt (whose scope was international). They spoke for workers, supported the civil rights movement long before it became fashionable among liberals, and mindlessly followed Stalin’s foreign policy twists and turns. And that’s about it.

HARRY PIOTROWSKI
Towson University

Books in Brief

Free African Americans of Maryland and Delaware from the Colonial Period to 1810 is a compilation of all known primary and secondary source records documenting the children and descendents of mixed race couples over the course of almost two centuries. Paul Heinegg, whose previous works include an assemblage of similar North Carolina and Virginia records, has identified hundreds of white women who married slaves and had mixed-race children, or bore those children as single women. The Maryland General Assembly passed a law in 1692 that punished these women by selling them as servants for seven years and binding out their children until age twenty-one or thirty-one. The length of the child's service depended on whether the mother had married the slave, or had committed the crime of fornication and given birth out of wedlock. Heinegg also presents information on land ownership opportunities, relations between the slave and white communities, and migration patterns of the ancestors of Maryland's free black community.

Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., cloth, \$45.00

Washington Post reporter Eugene L. Meyers' *Maryland Lost and Found: People and Places from the Chesapeake to Appalachia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) is back in print, revised, expanded, and re-titled *Maryland Lost and Found . . . Again*. The author expands his view of the state as "America in miniature" and revisits the Southern Maryland watermen; the formerly dry and wet counties of the Eastern Shore in which he found a two-sided sign that read "First Chance Liquors" on the southbound side and "Last Chance Liquors" on the reverse; and the Currier and Ives charm of Baltimore County's Dickeyville. The volume visits the tobacco world of Upper "Marburruh," the old interstate highways with their now-shuttered cottage-style motels, and the panoramic countryside of Western Maryland. This busman's trip through the Free State includes interviews with residents of each area of the state, offering readers a rich introduction to Maryland's people as well as its places.

Woodholme House Publishers, paper, \$15.95

Reviewers for the *William and Mary Quarterly*, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, and this journal praised Lorena Walsh's *From Calibar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997) as a significant contribution to our understanding of the "forces and experiences that shaped the lives of eighteenth century black Virginians." The author made expert use of traditional as well as material culture sources such as

archaeology to bring forth daily duties and rituals of slave life on Carter's Grove Plantation. The paperback edition is now available from the publisher.

University of Virginia Press, paper, \$18.50

American Abolitionists by Stanley Harrold focuses on the men and women who struggled against slavery and advocated equal rights for African Americans in the United States. Blacks, whites, men and women, southern slaves and northern agitators became participants in the conflict between North and South that led to war in 1861 and emancipation in 1865. Some of these activists preached non-violence, while others—including slave rebels—engaged in antislavery violence. This provocative account offers a brief and general history of the movement through numerous excerpts from abolitionist writings and a chapter on abolitionists and the origins of the women's rights movement.

Pearson Education, paper, \$15.00

Michael Kammen's *American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century* surveys the public arguments about taste, the uses of leisure, and what is culturally appropriate in a democracy that has a strong work ethic. The author shows how the post-traditional popular culture that flourished after the 1880s became full-blown mass culture after World War II, an era of unprecedented affluence and travel. He charts the influence of advertising and opinion polling; the development of standardized products, shopping centers, mass-marketing, and the separation of youth and adult culture. This text also addresses the significance of television and consumerism in shaping popular culture.

Alfred A. Knopf, cloth, \$30.00

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

In his article "A Stirring Among the Dry Bones: George Whitefield and the Great Awakening in Maryland" in the winter 2000 issue of the magazine, Timothy Feist describes the Old Light-New Light split experienced by the Nottingham Presbyterian Church and the decision of the New Lights to build a new meeting house and select Reverend Samuel Finley as their pastor. I thought the following footnote would be of interest to your readers.

Shortly after his arrival, Finley established a school adjoining the meeting house and served as its headmaster. This was the beginning of West Nottingham Academy, located today near Colora, in Maryland's Cecil County, and in continuous operation for more than two hundred fifty years. Academy graduates have made significant contributions to the history of Maryland and the nation. Two of Finley's students, Benjamin Rush and Richard Stockton were among the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Other West Nottingham graduates served as political and military leaders of the American cause in the revolutionary war (see *History of West Nottingham Academy* by Scott A. Mills, Maryland Historical Press, 1985). Finley himself became president of Princeton University.

Originally the by-product of a religious schism, West Nottingham Academy (no longer affiliated with the Presbyterian Church), today offers college preparatory courses and other educational opportunities for young men and women of all creeds, colors, and countries of origin.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Rider

Easton, Maryland

Editor:

Regarding the cover of the winter 2000 issue of the journal, I fear PDA has made a slight error in her caption. The young lady posing in the snow is not draped in a flag; rather, and quite properly, she is draped in bunting. Bunting has a continuing field of stars along the top with a few stripes of red and white in parallel below. It is designed to be used ornamentally draped along facades, stages, and even a young lady showing patriotic fervor in the snow!

Sincerely,

Paul A. Gasparotti

Baltimore, Maryland

Notices

Research Assistants Needed for Museum Publication

The Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, with support from the Helen Bader Foundation, is in the process of creating an encyclopedic history of camps and ghettos in Nazi Germany, Nazi-dominated Europe, and North Africa. In support of this effort, the center is seeking individuals to undertake research, full- or part-time, on a stipendiary basis, to gather relevant information on camps and ghettos from the museum's archival holdings. Researchers will be responsible for surveying the *museum collection in search of materials that will answer fundamental questions* about camps or ghettos including their creation, administration, guarding, prisoner population demographics, work performed, escapes, and postwar trials of camp personnel.

Applicants must have experience conducting primary source historical research and the ability to write clearly and concisely. Education beyond a first degree and commensurate with the work is required. Applicants must have a thorough reading knowledge of German and Polish. Please send a cover letter, curriculum vitae, and a short writing sample to Dr. Geoffrey P. Megargee, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place SW, Washington, DC 20024-2126.

SHGAPE Announces Best Article Prize

The Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era is offering a \$500 prize for the best published article of 1999, 2000 dealing with any aspect of United States history between 1865 and 1917. Any graduate student or individual with a doctorate awarded after 1990 who has not yet published a book is eligible to compete for this prize. An article may be nominated for consideration by the author or a journal editor. Deadline for submissions is December 1, 2001. Send three copies of the article, with the journal's table of contents, to Robert G. Barrows, SHGAPE Prize Committee, Department of History, Indiana University at Indianapolis, 425 University Boulevard, Indianapolis IN 46202-5140.

National Archives Information Service Name Change

The National Archives Library has been renamed the Archives Library Information Center in recognition of the institution's expanded electronic capability. Archives staff are now able to assist researchers with access to materials beyond the library holdings. The new web address is <http://www.nara.gov/alice>.

Harold L. Peterson Award Winner Announced

Civil War historian Gary Gallagher has won Eastern National's 2000 Harold L. Peterson award for his article "An Old-Fashioned Soldier in a Modern War? Robert E. Lee as Confederate General," published in the December 1999 *Civil War History: A Journal of the Middle Period*. The \$1000 prize is given in honor of Peterson, former chief curator of the National Park Service and Chairman of the Board of Eastern National. Eastern National is a private organization that supplies educational services and products to the national parks.

AASLH Summer 2001 Interns

The American Association of State and Local History invites applicants for the 2001 Alderson Internship. The intern assists the AASLH programs division in Nashville. Eligible candidates will be graduate students currently enrolled in a degree program in public history, museum or American studies, historic preservation, history, or a related field. The eight-week internship pays a \$250 per week stipend. For further information contact Laurie Batte by email (preferred) batte@aaslh.org or call 615-320-3203. Applicants please send resume, letter of application, and three letters of reference to Laurie Batte, Program Officer, AASLH, 1717 Church Street, Nashville TN 37203-2991.

An Appeal to the Membership from the Editors of the Magazine

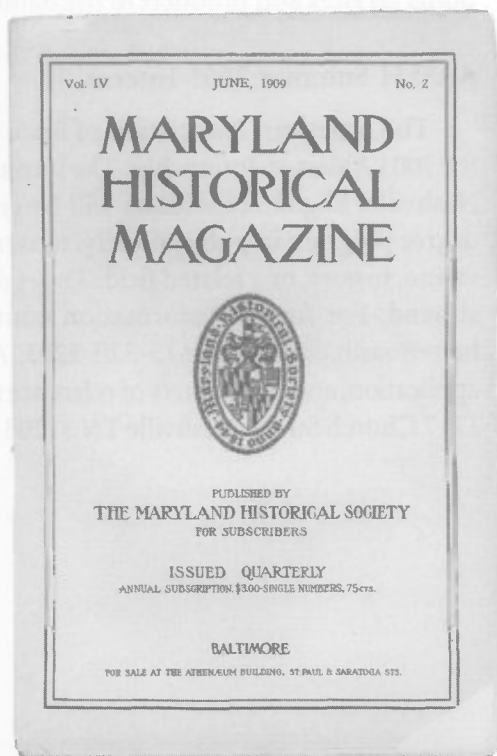
In the ninety-sixth year of publication, the editors of this venerable journal are dismayed to inform you that the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is OUT OF PRINT! Impossible as it sounds, copies for more than two-thirds of all back issues are no longer available.

Given the journal's popularity and wide reach, that it should run out of back issues after nearly a century is not surprising. Nevertheless, we believe it is a situation that calls for a quick remedy. As it now stands, full sets of the magazine are available only at a few libraries, including our own, and from a handful of families who have collected it over the years (but whom, alas, we do not know). Elsewhere, the series lies in fragments.

Fortunately, technology can provide some help. We are currently laying the groundwork to have the entire magazine digitally scanned and made available on CD-ROM and on the internet.

The first step is to collect enough back issues to complete a full set of the journal for scanning. (Only as a desperate last resort would we cannibalize an existing, bound set.) We therefore urgently ask the membership to be alert for back issues, especially 1906 to 1960. Please look in attics, basements, and second-hand bookstores. Drop us a note if you have (or find) any back issues to donate, or call 410-685-3750 ext. 317. Thank you.

The Editors



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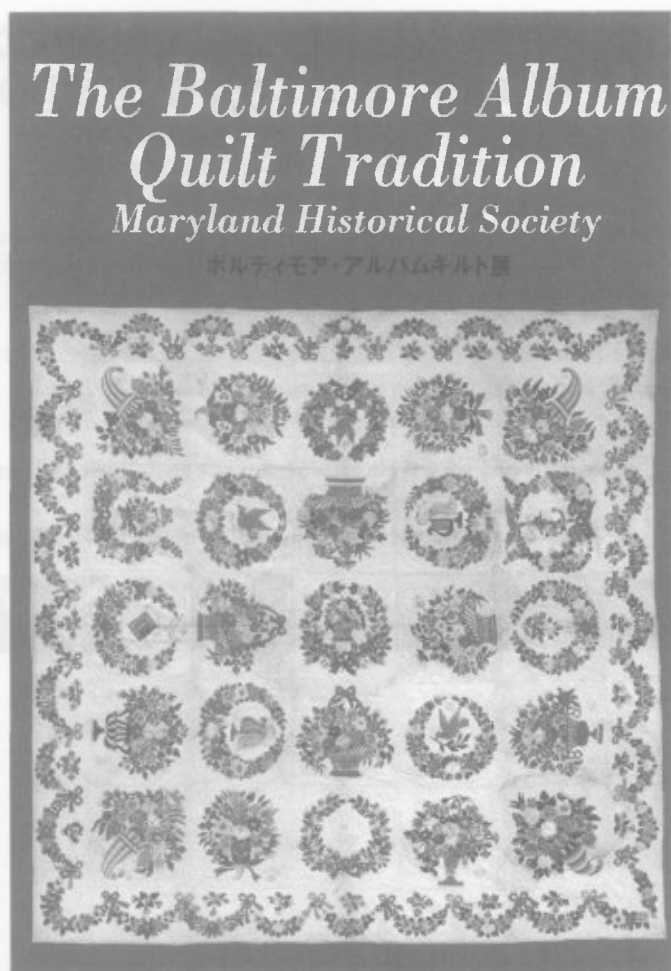
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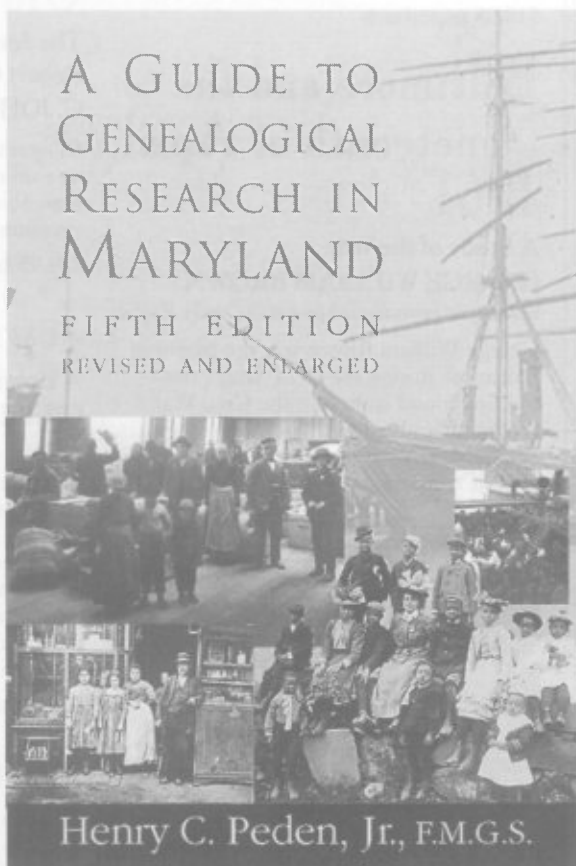
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